

California Historical Society

Quarterly

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SAN JOSE 1856

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NUMBER I

MARCH 1935

THE STORY OF SAN JOSE, 1777-1869*

California's First Pueblo

By OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

CHAPTER I

THE SPANISH PERIOD

BACKGROUND¹

SPANISH CIVILIZATION marched northward slowly but steadily during the two and a quarter centuries following the exploits of Cortés. The discovery of rich silver deposits, military expeditions, and the activities of the Jesuits all played a part in pushing the Mexican economic frontier farther north, all helped prepare the way for the colonists who were eventually to penetrate Alta California.

But through these long years Alta California remained to many Spaniards only the mythical island of Montalvo's novel. Except for the efforts of a few men of great energy, such as Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, nothing was done

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toward actually planting settlers in this vast region until the Eighteenth Century was more than half gone. The predatory ambitions of the Russians, the English and the Dutch finally roused the Spaniards from their lethargy. In 1768 Joseph de Galvez, the *visitador-general*, formulated a definite proposal for the establishment of a presidio at Monterey,² a port recommended by Sebastian Vizcaino more than a century and a half before. The plans of Galvez were quickly put into effect. Early in 1769, the very year that Daniel Boone passed through the Cumberland gap in search of Kentucky, four expeditions, two by land, and two by sea, began their trek to Alta California. Among the leaders were Pedro Fages, Fernando de Rivera, Gaspar de Portolá, and Padre Junípero Serra. The expeditions came together again at San Diego, where Padre Serra founded a mission in 1769. After wanderings and hardships they at last rejoined each other at Monterey Bay, their destination. On June 3, 1770, both the Presidio and the Mission of Monterey were formally established in this beautiful new country.

Other garrisons and missions were founded during the early seventies, but the struggle to sustain these infant settlements proved to be as trying as that which had given them birth. Five years of vigorous effort on the part of missionaries converted fewer than five hundred Indians (most of them children) to Christianity. It was discouraging enough to try to save souls, but it was even more disheartening to try to obtain food. Supplies from the base at San Blas were often delayed by unfavorable winds, and, on one occasion at least, the determined colonists actually faced death from starvation.

The able vice-royalty of Antonio María Bucareli, the attempts to found colonies by the intrepid soldier, Juan Bautista de Anza, the perseverance of Padre Serra, and the governorship of the energetic Felipe de Neve, will always be a vivid part of the fascinating story of early days in Spanish Alta California.

It was under the governorship of Neve that the Pueblo of San Jose was founded. Neve had scarcely assumed office, when Bucareli gave him several very important instructions, one of which was an order for the establishment of agricultural settlements in Alta California. Bucareli realized that if Mexico were ever to be relieved of the burden of supplying food to the population of this new region, pueblos would have to be founded to serve as production centers for the missions and garrisons. It was towards this end that Governor Neve was to direct his greatest energies.

SAN JOSE: CALIFORNIA'S FIRST PUEBLO

Neve journeyed northward in 1777 to Alta California to visit the port of San Francisco and to establish his residence at the new capital of Monterey. On his way north the Governor kept a close watch for suitable pueblo sites, selecting his first site on Río de Porciúncula, the location for a settlement which was later to be known as Los Angeles. The second production center, Neve decided, should be located on Río de Guadalupe (now better known as Guadalupe

slough), about eight miles from the southern tip of San Francisco Bay. It was this one which became the Pueblo of San Jose.³

The Governor wasted no time. He at once found nine soldiers, some of whom he took from the Presidio at San Francisco and some from the garrison at Monterey, who knew how to farm. Five *pobladores* (founders, i.e. first settlers) and a cowboy servant, members of Anza's band of colonists, were also persuaded to try their luck at the future pueblo. The families of these adventurers brought the total number of interested persons to sixty-eight. The group, under the leadership of Lieutenant-Commander José Joaquín Moraga, moved leisurely down the San Francisco peninsula to a spot on the eastern bank of the Guadalupe about three miles from Mission Santa Clara. Here, on November 29, 1777, in the name of the King, ground was broken and the new home christened *El Pueblo de San José de Guadalupe*, in honor of the patron saint of California.⁴ California's first pueblo, her first purely civil community, had come into existence.

Governor Neve had chosen well. San Jose was located in the center of one of the most fertile valleys on the Pacific coast. Bounded on the north by San Francisco Bay and by protecting mountain ranges on three sides, this oval-shaped valley had many advantages. The mildness of the climate, the accessibility of water, the nearness to San Francisco and Monterey and to several of the ecclesiastical establishments as well, were important considerations.

The liberal patronage of the Spanish government was also attractive to settlers, each of whom at the outset received a plot of ground on which to build a house and a field large enough for the planting of about two bushels of maize. In addition, each one was given a regular soldier's pay of ten dollars a month, and daily rations for a period of three years. Heads of families were provided, in the form of a loan, with two cows, two oxen, two mares, two beeves, two sheep, and two goats, almost after the manner of Noah's ark, but most of them were allowed only one mule. Necessary farm implements were also supplied.⁵ The community as a whole was granted, according to Neve, as much land as was desired for pasture, as well as timber for building purposes. The Governor reported that poplar, laurel, and willow trees were abundant along the stream. As a further aid to settlers, Neve, realizing that the soil of this semi-arid country would yield better crops if irrigated, requested the colonists to build a dam on the Guadalupe in order to harness the surplus water for use on new lands to be allotted to the *pobladores* and to newcomers as well.⁶

Statistics were popular even in the early days. From the first census of San Jose, taken a short time after the arrival of the founders, we have the name, age, and sex of every colonist, not to mention his beasts of burden:⁷

THE FIRST CENSUS OF PUEBLO SAN JOSE

NAMES	Men	Women	Children (M.)	Children (F.)	Ages	Horses	Mules	Mares	Oxen	Cows	Calves	Burros	Ewes	Goats	Herd of Swine
Valerio de Mesa, Spaniard.....	1				49										
Maria Borvoa, Spaniard.....		1			30										
Joseph Joaquin.....			1		15										
Joseph Ygnacio.....			1		13										
Ygnacio Dolores.....			1		8	2	1	2	2	2	1		2	2	
Joseph Antonio.....			1		5										
Nicolas Maria.....			1		3										
Juan.....			1		2m.										
Maria Manuela.....				1	7										
Gabriel Peralta, Spaniard.....	1				45										
Francisca Valenzuela, Spaniard.....		1			35										
Luis Maria.....			1		18	1	3	2	2	2	1		2	2	
Pedro Regalado.....			1		14										
Maria Gertrudis.....			1		11										
Joaquin de Castro, Spaniard.....	1				46										
Maria Botiller, Spaniard.....		1			43										
Joseph Mariano.....			1		13										
Joseph Joaquin.....			1		7	3	2	9	2	2	1		2	2	
Francisco Maria.....			1		5										
Carlos Antonio.....			1		3										
Maria dela Encarnacion.....			1		19										
Francisco Maria, Indian farmhand.....			1		8										
Xavier Beltran, Spaniard.....	1				30										
Certrudis Lugo, Spaniard.....		1			22										
Maria Gertrudis Valencia, Orphan.....			1		8	2	3	2	2	4	2		2	2	
Maria Valencia, Indian (?).....			1		1										
Loreto Lugo, Indian servant.....			1		20										
Joseph Manuel Higuera, Spaniard.....	1				33										
Antonia Redondo, Spaniard.....		1			25										
Juan Joseph.....			1		7										
Juan Faustino.....			1		4	1	2	2	2	2	1		2	2	
Maria Bictoria.....			1		2										
Maria Gertrudis.....			1		1										
Joseph, Indian servant.....			1		16										
Seferino Lugo, Spaniard.....	1				40	1	2	2	2	3	1		2	2	
Gertrudis Pacheco, Spaniard.....		1			36										
Manl Ramirez de Arellano, Spaniard.....	1				35										
Maria Lopez de Aro, Spaniard.....		1			19	2	1	2	2	2	1		2	2	
Juan Mariano.....			1		4										
Ygnacio Archuleta, Spaniard.....	1				25	1	1	2	2	2	1		2	2	
Ygnacia Pacheco, Spaniard.....		1			16										
Joseph Tiburcio, Basques mulatto.....	1				25										
Maria Bojorques, mestiza.....		1			19	1	1	2	2	2	1		2	2	
Maria Ygnacia.....			1		1										
Phelipe Tapia, mulatto.....	1				42										
Juana Cardenas, mestiza.....		1			30										
Joseph Bartolome, Spaniard.....			1		12										
Juan Joseph.....			1		11										
Juan Cristobal.....			1		10	2	1	12	2	8	4	1	2	2	6
Joseph Franco.....			1		8										
Joseph Bito.....			1		3										
Maria Rosa.....			1		16										
Maria Manuela.....			1		9										
Maria Ygnasia.....			1		7										
Joseph Romero, mulatto.....	1				35	1	1	2	2	2	1		2	2	
Maria Petra Azebes, mulatto.....		1			17										
Manuel Amesquita, mulatto widower.....	1				21	1	1	2	2	2	1		2	2	
Joaquin Gabriel.....			1		1										
Manl Gonzales, Apache Indian.....	1				58										
Nicaela Ruiz, Indian.....		1			30										
Juan.....			1		13										
Ramon.....			1		7	1	1	2	2	2	1		2	2	
Faustino.....			1		3										
Maria Gregoria.....			1		11										
Ana Maria.....			1		3										
Juan Manuel Villela, Spaniard bachelor.....	1				30	1	1	2	2	2	1		2	2	
Joseph Franco Sinoba, servant vaquero.....	1				25										
Maria Gertrudis Bojorques, mestiza.....		1			16										
Remainder in general charge.....						1			1			4	3	3	5
Totals.....	15	13	27	13		21	21	45	29	37	18	5	31	31	11

The provisions of the Spanish government for their welfare must have seemed very liberal to these founders of the Pueblo of San Jose and must have encouraged them to set about the business of establishing their new homes. The marshy lands of the first site chosen forced the people to move to a higher location after an uncomfortably wet winter in 1778-79. The first hastily constructed houses were built of logs and tules plastered over with mud, but as time permitted, adobe bricks made from clay were used for the construction of more permanent dwellings.⁸

Immediately after their first flimsy shelters were thrown together, the colonists turned to the planting of their fields and the building of a dam across the Guadalupe. The loss of this dam through a flood, an account of which has been left by Neve, was the first major disaster that the pueblo had to face. The Governor wrote in April, 1778: "The ditch by which the water was to be brought to the fields was finished in the month of February, and at the beginning of March the dam was almost completed. It was made of piles of earth. But there came a strong flood which broke it, and it could not be repaired on account of the high water."⁹ According to Neve, the destruction of the dam did not interfere with the planting of the corn and the beans, but later writers state that nothing was left of the planting and that not until July was a new dam constructed higher upstream and water brought to the replanted land.¹⁰ Neve also informed his Commander-General, Don Teodoro de la Croix, that the shortage of oxen, as well as the fact that the young bulls were not ready for the yoke, made impossible the planting of more than twelve *fanegas* of corn and beans in 1778, although he hoped that the fields of the pueblo of San Jose would yield enough in two years to supply Monterey and San Francisco presidios with seeds. The energetic governor likewise planned to set out grapevines and fruit trees, which had already been done at San Diego.¹¹

LAND GRANTS

Don Pedro Fages succeeded Neve as governor of California in September, 1782. Two months later the new executive appointed Don José Moraga, the leader who had brought the colonists from San Francisco to the banks of the Guadalupe, as commissioner to go to San Jose to settle disputes to land titles. The disputes were the result of the shifting of home sites and the failure to see that definite agreements were made in the beginning.

Fages instructed Moraga to make the possessions uniform and regular, designate the vacant lands, the common lands, and the *ejidos*, or vacant suburbs, to be used for building. By September of the following year the commissioner had completed his work. He was ready to report to the Governor that he had defined the possessions of each *poblador*, as well as the several classes of pueblo lands. The settlement now had eighteen *pobladores*, each of whom was given a rectangular plot of ground thirty *varas* square as a home site, and one of two hundred *varas* square for cultivation.¹²

The grants to the settlers carried with them both privileges and restrictions. Their possessions were to be passed on to their descendants through perpetual inheritance. The homes and the *suertes* (arable land) could not however be divided among the heirs, but could go to only one. The colonists and those who came after them were forbidden to mortgage their property; for, since the estates were to remain indivisible and inalienable forever, provision had to be made against their loss.¹³

In 1797 the pueblo was moved to less than a mile south of the center of its present location in order to get away from the marshy country. This second change resulted in the prolonging of difficulties between individual settlers and the government over property rights.¹⁴

PUEBLO RULE

For several years after it was founded San Jose was under the direct control of the Spanish provincial authorities. The military and judicial jurisdiction of the pueblo, at first lodged at San Francisco, was transferred to Monterey soon after 1790.¹⁵ The governor of the province of Alta California was directly represented in the pueblo by a sergeant. Most of the orders seem to have come, however, from the military comandante at Monterey.

Although local government was limited, it would be incorrect to say that San Jose enjoyed no privileges of self rule. *Alcaldes* were chosen by the residents at least by the opening of the Nineteenth Century.¹⁶ But they were told how to do it. Raimundo Carrillo, a figure of some importance at Monterey, made it clear to the commissioner at San Jose that an *invalido* (retired soldier), or other military person, would be the best choice for mayor, for even so long ago as 1802 Carrillo could say: "Citizens of the town have learned their lesson from the present *alcalde*, who has not kept the promises made at the time of his election, and has made himself unpopular on account of his illegal acts."¹⁷ Carrillo was generally in favor of the selection of *invalidos* for positions of authority.¹⁸

In 1812 the Spanish Cortes passed a decree, a part of which provided that pueblos of less than two hundred inhabitants could apply to the provincial deputation for the right to organize an *ayuntamiento* (common council). If the request were granted, the town would have not only an *alcalde*, but also two *regidores* (aldermen) and a *procurador-sindico* (attorney).¹⁹ There is reason to believe that San Jose availed herself of this opportunity to become more independent.²⁰

An imposing military force, composed of a corporal and three soldiers, was maintained several years at San Jose for the protection of law and order. The civil (as well as the military) government of the pueblo was thus distinct from the administration of the missions.²¹

From contemporary records we learn that San Jose, like many other pioneer communities, was not free from disorder and that the officers of the law had

something to do besides visit the grog shop. The street had to be patrolled at all hours, apparently. A regulation of 1800 states that, because of the disorder and the number of fires in the pueblo, the *regidor* must make the rounds with the night patrol to prevent disturbances and to apprehend any one found after 11 P. M. without justified object."²² The same order provided that a mounted patrolman, who "must not be a decrepit old wreck," should be added to the police force to keep mischief makers from doing damage through the countryside.²³

A statement written in 1815, describing the careless setting of pasture fires too close to the town and recommending that an ordinance be passed making the offense punishable with a ten dollar fine, reveals further evidence of lawlessness.²⁴ Corporal Ignacio Vallejo was sent a large supply of paper of a certain size by the monthly mail from Monterey, upon which was to be noted "all affairs that do not have to be reported to the governor, such as very important communications, or concubinage or any other disorder of a similar nature."²⁵ In 1800 instructions were given for the erection "of a big and strong stock, with a long, thick, strong hinge and three staples for the padlock," in which offenders were locked and exposed to the scorn of their fellow townsmen.²⁶

José María Estudillo replaced Carrillo as Lieutenant-Commander of Monterey in 1807.²⁷ He instructed the commissioner at San Jose to allow the soldiers to vote in all town meetings as long as they were residents of the town.²⁸ The commissioner was later to become the intermediary between the governor and the *alcalde* and *regidores*.²⁹

MAKING A LIVING

Few documents have come down to tell the story of the struggle for existence endured by the small group of *pobladores* on the banks of the Guadalupe. The population, which, according to Bancroft, numbered a hundred and seventy at the close of the century, reached the low ebb of a hundred and twenty-five in 1810, because of enlistments. By 1820 it had increased to two hundred and forty.³⁰

No great things could be expected from so small a population. Bancroft states, however, that in 1780, three years after it was founded, San Jose produced more than seven hundred bushels of grain and had six hundred head of livestock, including goats and pigs. The slight increase in grain production from year to year brought 4260 bushels only in 1800, with a falling off to 3526 in 1810.³¹ Governor Fages at one time put in an urgent request to San Jose for flour.³² The supply of cattle and horses soon became larger than was necessary to fill the demand. Perhaps the Mission coveted some of them. For in 1805 notice was given that an *herradero* (blacksmith) would be sent from the Mission to the pueblo for the purpose of branding the livestock of the inhabitants.

If the people failed to round up their cattle according to directions, the animals were "to be marked with the Mission iron."³³

The *pobladores* interested themselves in the cultivation of the vine and the setting out of fruit trees as well as in the raising of cattle.³⁴ And the time came when hemp was grown with more success in San Jose than anywhere else in California.³⁵ Manufacturing was limited in these pioneer days, consisting mostly in the production of peach brandy by individuals (without license if they could get away with it) for their own use. Special permission had to be obtained for this privilege.³⁶

Life in the pueblo was, on the whole, extremely crude at first. There were about twenty houses in San Jose in 1814. Adobe bricks were still used as the principal building material, although a little timber that could be hewn with the axe was used to decorate the homes. The luxury of a stove or a fireplace was almost unknown.³⁷

THE DESPISED FOREIGNERS

Spain did not welcome foreigners to Alta California. Laws were passed putting severe restrictions on contacts with all non-Spanish peoples. Not until the time of the Nootka Sound controversy (1790) was more than an occasional foreign vessel ever seen along the California coast. But after this controversy was settled, George Vancouver, sailing south from Nootka, entered San Francisco Bay on November 14, 1792, and became the first man who was not of Spanish blood to anchor in this port.³⁸ Other captains and other ships came after him, and from then on the foreigners were a problem to the Spanish in Alta California.

Vancouver himself was, however, welcomed by the acting commander at San Francisco. The famous mariner also went down the peninsula as far as Mission Santa Clara. He has left us the best first-hand description of the Santa Clara Valley of the Spanish pioneers, an account written in the very year that San Jose celebrated her fifteenth anniversary. He saw the "luxuriant fertility" of the surrounding mountains, their "verdant open spaces," and how they were at the time "enriched with stately forest trees of different descriptions." As Vancouver continued his way down the peninsula, he noted that the "holly-leaved oak, maple horse-chesnut (sic), and willow, were increased from dwarf shrubs to trees of tolerable size, having some of the common English dwarf oak scattered amongst them."

This British sea captain did not see a single house or other man-made shelter during the whole journey from San Francisco to Mission Santa Clara. The most disagreeable part of his trip was through the immediate vicinity of San Jose and the Mission. "Having passed through this imaginary park" (the upper part of the peninsula), Vancouver added, "we advanced a few miles in an open clear meadow, and arrived in a low swampy country; through which our progress was very slow, the horses being nearly knee-deep in mud and

water for about six miles. The badness of our road rendered this part of our journey somewhat unpleasant."³⁹

Most important of all the notes the Captain made on this trip is his description of the status of agriculture in Santa Clara Valley:

They cultivate wheat, maize, peas and beans; the latter are produced in great variety, and the whole in greater abundance than their necessities require. Of these several sort they had many thousand bushels in store, of excellent quality, which had been obtained with little labor, and without manure. By the help of a very mean, and ill contrived plough drawn by oxen, the earth is slightly turned over, and smoothed down by a harrow. . . . The maize, peas, and beans, are produced with as little labour; they are sown in the spring months, and succeed extremely well, as do hemp and flax, or linseed. The wheat affords in general from twenty-five to thirty for one according to the seasons. . . .⁴⁰

José Joaquín de Arrillaga, temporary governor of California in 1792, happened to be in Baja California at the time of Vancouver's visit to San Francisco. When he returned to the north, Arrillaga was much displeased with the account of the lavish reception which his subalterns had accorded the British sea captain and his men. The trip to the Guadalupe was particularly disconcerting to the Governor, who at once issued orders forbidding the recurrence of such indiscretions. Arrillaga made it clear that in future foreign vessels would be allowed to stop at California ports only long enough to take on supplies.⁴¹

Although San Jose was not a port, it came within the purview of rules pertaining to foreigners. An order from Monterey dated November 2, 1795, addressed to the Corporal of the Guard at San Jose, states that "No individual, regardless of his rank, is to be permitted to go on board foreign ships. The regulation also forbids foreigners either to ride horseback or "to acquire a knowledge of the country." These despised outsiders were "not to be furnished with any cattle capable of multiplying." No smuggling of any kind was to be allowed. The official issuing the order recommended, however, that aliens should always be treated "with moderation and good manners," but warned that any officer who failed to carry out his commands would be called on the carpet.⁴²

Five years later a similar order from the same source prohibited non-residents from planting fields in San Jose without a license from the governor.⁴³

The execution of these strict commands proved to be almost impossible. The decrees applying to foreigners were variously interpreted according to the ideas of the persons requested to put them into effect. During the remaining years of Spanish rule, aliens continued to enter Alta California by both land and water routes. American ships, as well as vessels flying the colors of Russia, England, and France, called at California ports very early in the Nineteenth Century.

The first foreigner known to have established his residence in the Santa Clara Valley was John Cameron, a native of Inverness-shire, Scotland, who

usually went by the name of John Gilroy. In 1813 or 1814 he had been taken ashore from a British ship at the port of Monterey in order to be cured of the scurvy. Rather than return to his duties as a sailor, Gilroy deserted his ship together with a comrade called "Deaf Jimmy." The Scotchman then made his way to the Santa Clara Valley, where he eventually acquired a ranch about thirty miles south of San Jose, on the site of the town which now bears his name. The improvident and over-indulgent deserter married and spent the rest of his life here. John Gilroy is believed to have been the first permanent foreign settler in Alta California.⁴⁴

Robert Livermore, an Englishman, drifted into San Jose two years after Gilroy's arrival in the valley. But he, too, preferred, in true pioneer fashion, a life of solitude to whatever excitement existence at the pueblo might offer and moved on to the Niles Canyon region where a town stands today called by his name.⁴⁵

Foreigners kept trickling into California with the passing of the years, but it was not until the Mexican era that San Jose became a veritable mecca for those coming from afar to establish their homes in the new country.

The Spanish government maintained a hostile attitude toward aliens till the end. It was willing, however, to let its subjects in Alta California trade tallow, hides, and furs for wares from the Atlantic and from far away Canton when this exchange of commodities began towards the close of the period of Spanish control.⁴⁶ There were grafters and people with a perverted sense of humor in those days, too. In 1817 the Lieutenant-Commander at Monterey addressed a complaint to the commissioner at San Jose on account of the report of the Spanish frigate *La Hermosa Mexicana* of "unpleasant experiences at the hands of certain persons who have acted illegally by delivering 'boots' (skin bags) of tallow filled with filth and stones. . . ." The Commander was afraid that the trade would be ruined and "the towns of the province" as well. All offenders were to be severely punished.⁴⁷ The new commercial activities probably increased the zest for life in the otherwise dull existence of the inhabitants of the Pueblo of San Jose.

THE MENACE OF THE REDMAN

Indians were the first settlers on the banks of Rio Guadalupe. The time of their coming is uncertain, but when José Moraga and his *pobladores* reached the location on the stream where they were to establish themselves, they found the ruins of an ancient Indian village which they called *Pueblo Antiguo*. Although there was no Indian settlement in the immediate vicinity, a tribe known as the Olhones lived within the confines of the valley.⁴⁸

The relations of the white men with the aborigines were no different at Pueblo San Jose from what they had been elsewhere. The padres of the neighboring missions preached salvation to the Indians. The less disinterested laymen encroached upon his rights. Some of those in authority, however, such as

Governor Arrillaga, saw the wisdom of treating the Indians well. In 1807 he wrote to the commissioner at San Jose saying that he was pleased to hear that the inhabitants of that town had asked Indians "to gather the harvest" and hoped that this would set a precedent for the future. The Governor was "glad to have the clothing sent . . . for those gentiles [unbaptized Indians] whom I am anxious to have well treated, for, if they are dealt with fairly, they will come back."⁴⁹ Arrillaga also approved of the "punishment imposed upon the Christian Indian who maltreated the little gentile. . . . He has no objection to setting him . . . free, but thinks it may be better to wait until the little gentile has recovered, in order that his people may see that we are interested in them." No Indian, either gentile or Christian, was to be forced to live in the pueblo, but Christian natives were to be required to attend mass on holy days.⁵⁰

A change of diet, for which the new settlers were responsible, began the trouble. The Olhones, accustomed to living on fish, acquired such a taste for beef after the introduction of cattle into the valley that, as Bancroft tells us, floggings and even a few killings could not overcome it.⁵¹

No serious clashes occurred until early in the new century. In 1805 Indians attacked a small party of soldiers and neophytes led by Father Pedro de la Cueva of Mission San Jose. Four of the victims were killed and the others wounded. Although the incident did not directly involve the Pueblo of San Jose, it created a situation which threatened the peace of the Santa Clara Valley for the next five years.⁵² The Indian problem did not become really important, however, until the period of Mexican control.

MISSION SANTA CLARA AND THE CULTURAL LIFE

Mission Santa Clara, dedicated ten and a half months before San Jose was founded, was located about three miles west of the pueblo.⁵³ It is only natural, therefore, that relations between the two places should have been more or less close. Spanish officials probably established the town near the mission so that the padres could care for the souls of the *pobladores*, and may have expected the latter to supply the friars with foodstuffs eventually.⁵⁴

The Church lay claim to things temporal in the New World as well as the Old. A dispute arose between Mission Santa Clara and the neighboring pueblo over boundary lines, which "although not as threatening in its aspect as the dispute on the northwest boundary between the United States and British America," writes Hall, historian of San Jose, impressed with the vituperative spirit of the documents describing the quarrel, was "not less warlike in words, sent forth principally in epistolary form."⁵⁵

In spite of disputes over dividing lines conceived only in the imagination, the padres did not fail in the fulfillment of their religious obligations. The *pobladores* received the sacraments of the Church from the hands of the friars for many years until an ecclesiastical parish was finally created in San Jose. One of the most lasting of these mission-pueblo contacts is The Alameda, built

by the Fathers to facilitate travel between the two establishments. Some of the original willow trees planted along this way by Father Maguin de Catala and his successors are standing today.⁵⁶

We do not know just how early the pueblo provided for the education of its children. An interesting agreement of 1811 has, however, come down, a contract between the inhabitants and Rafael Villavicencio, who was to receive eighteen *reales* a year "to be paid in grain or flour" from each head of a family, in return for teaching "the youth the Christian doctrine and to read and write." Teachers must have been scarce in those days, for Villavicencio dictated the terms upon which he was willing to assume the duties of a school-master:

- ... The commissioner shall bring the children together and take them to the teacher.
2. When the children are absent from school the teacher shall send word to the parents, who shall give the reason for their failure to attend, and, if they miss school twice, the commissioner must, without accepting any excuse, force the parents to send them.
3. While the children are at school, the parents ... are not responsible to God for them, for the responsibility rests entirely upon the teacher, because, since they pay for the instruction in the holy dogma of religion, the teacher is responsible to God ... and to the authorities; it being understood, however, that the parents are obliged to examine their children at home to see whether they are making any progress, and if they ... do not see any improvement, they shall complain to the commissioner. ...
4. The teacher shall devote himself exclusively to the duties of instruction.
5. There shall be three hours of school in the morning and three in the afternoon, from eight to eleven, and from two to five. The commissioner shall oblige the parents to send their children to school. ...⁵⁷

This contract contains several reminders of present day educational policy.

Thus passed the first forty years of the life of the inhabitants of Pueblo San Jose. The period of Spanish domination had come to an end. The beginnings of San Jose were different from those of most towns, for this pueblo did not come into existence as the result of the casual gathering together of settlers, but was founded to fulfill a need. It was established with the purpose of taking care of a basic requirement of civilization—the food supply. The soldier and the priest had already set up their abode in Alta California, but the *poblador* who helped found San Jose became a member of the first community in the province to devote itself exclusively to agricultural pursuits.

The history of San Jose during these years was probably similar to that of many other Spanish pioneer communities in Alta California. There were the early discouragements, the efforts to prepare the land, and the breaking of the dam; there were the paternal interest of the Spanish government in its settlers, and the bickerings of the latter with each other over land grants. Attempts were made, too, to seize opportunities for home rule when such came. Lawlessness was the order of the day; foreigners were accorded as few privileges as possible; clashes with the Indians were not long delayed. But the ideals of

religion and later of education, ideals which were almost a common possession of the colonists of those days, were also brought by the pioneers who built their huts on the banks of Rio Guadalupe.

CHAPTER II

UNDER MEXICAN RULE

A NEW FLAG

THE SAME YEAR that Thomas Jefferson retired from the Presidency of the United States saw the threatened collapse of Spain's far flung empire. Rebelions were breaking out in Spanish America, and before the end of the next year the forces of revolution had penetrated even to the distant frontier of Alta California. Supply ships from San Blas no longer deposited their cargoes at Monterey; instead, smugglers had stealthy dealings with some of the despised foreigners, most of whom were Russians and Americans.

The inhabitants of Alta California lacked the facilities of communication which might have involved them in the Spanish-American Wars of Independence. Although the news that did trickle in made them somewhat apprehensive, it did not stir the Californians to action. They did not attempt to break away from Spanish control for several years.

But in 1818 one of the revolutionists left his mark on the province. Hippolyte de Bouchard, in command of two ships flying the insurgent flag of Buenos Aires, chose that time to attack and ravage Monterey and other points along the California coast. Bouchard's assault seems to have been the signal for the rapid move of settlers in the region towards a complete break with Spain. Military successes in New Spain engineered by Agustín Iturbide brought the revolution to a head in Alta California. At Monterey on April 22, 1822, with the people cheering and the guns thundering, the new flag of Mexico was raised over the custom-house from where the standard of the Spanish Bourbons had (with the exception of the Bouchard interlude) flown supreme for fifty-three years.

The rest of the year was spent in reorganizing the government of the province. A deputy elected from each of the four presidios and from the Pueblo of Los Angeles (but not from San Jose) was sent to Monterey to help choose a delegate to congress to be held at Mexico City and to select a governor. The deputies selected Pablo Vicente de Solá as the delegate to the congress and Luis Argüello of San Francisco as the new chief executive of California.

Professor Chapman thus describes the change from Spanish to Mexican rule: "The new régime was now solidly installed. Spanish California existed no more. The movement which had begun exactly three hundred years before,

when Cortés planted his settlement at Zacatula, had passed irrevocably into other than Spanish hands."¹

The change in national flags did not seem to have much effect on the political situation in San Jose. Not till May 10, 1825, did the residents of the pueblo gather at the plaza to take the oath of allegiance to the federal constitution of Mexico. The three days of bull-fighting and fun which followed this solemn declaration of loyalty give proof that the ceremony was performed in good faith. It is recorded that not only were there "three days of bull-fighting and corresponding diversions at night," but that "every one gave three cheers for the Constitution with great rejoicing."² Although San Jose officially became a part of the San Francisco military district in 1826,³ its people, like those of the neighboring Pueblo of Branciforte (now Santa Cruz), were still almost as independent as ever.⁴

But this freedom did not last always, for, on February 26, 1829, Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado issued a decree providing for the dissolution of the *ayuntamientos*. San Jose was made the *cabecera* (head) of one of the new administrative districts by the same order. Available information would indicate that a sub-prefect was not appointed for this district till after 1840. Bancroft states that from this date until the beginning of the war with the United States the records are "well nigh a blank."⁵

In compliance with a wish of Governor Alvarado the name of the pueblo was changed (but for a time only) to "San José de Alvarado." Hall declares that it was not made clear to the residents whether the Governor desired to "add luster to San José, or that the latter would embellish his own."⁶

POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION

The census of San Jose taken by the Spaniards at the time of the founding of the pueblo was, so far as is known, the only complete one to be taken until the American era. The several population estimates for various given dates differ considerably. Although Bancroft's figures may not always be accurate, they are based on more than a mere guess and so are more reliable than those of the casual travelers who have given more or less rough estimates.

According to Bancroft, San Jose had only two hundred and forty inhabitants, most of whom were Spaniards, at the opening of the so-called Mexican period.⁷ The population increased fairly rapidly, however, during the third decade of the Nineteenth Century. Hall, who was a more than usually careful local historian, states that in 1831 a total of 524 persons, 166 of whom were men, 145 women, 103 boys, and 110 girls, were residing in San Jose.⁸ There was comparatively little change during the thirties, but the increase was so great in the early forties that Bancroft has estimated that nine hundred people were living in and around the pueblo in 1845. Investigations made by a correspondent of the *Californian* led him to the conclusion that by May, 1848, about

eight hundred and fifty people were actually living within the town limits of San Jose.⁹

The era of Mexican supremacy is distinguished from the period of Spanish control chiefly on account of the greater number of foreign settlers, especially Americans, who made their way to Alta California after the change in governments.

The first of these adventurous Americans is thought to be Philip Doke, or Doak, a block and tackle maker aboard a whaler. Doke, as Gilroy had done before him, deserted his ship at Monterey, pushing on into the Santa Clara Valley in 1822. And under similar circumstances Mathew Fellom, a Dane—not to be outdone by a Scotchman and a Yankee—established himself in the valley about the same time as Doke. The date of the arrival in San Jose of William Willis, an Englishman known to be living in the pueblo in 1828, is not known.¹⁰

There were probably not more than a hundred aliens in all Alta California in 1830. San Jose received its share of those, who came in greater numbers as time went on. John Burton, moving to the pueblo in the early thirties, distinguished himself by becoming *alcalde* in 1847, as well as by the part he took in civic affairs during the first years of American occupation. Another foreign settler in San Jose was Harry Bee, who arrived from London in company with Dr. Douglas, a visiting naturalist, in 1833. Other interesting additions to the population of the town before 1840 were William Gulnac from Hudson City, New York, later *mayordomo* of San Jose; James Alexander Forbes, afterwards acting British Vice-Consul at the pueblo; James Weeks, or Weekes, who like Burton became *alcalde*; the Italian, Nicholas Dodera; William Smith (or "Bill the Sawyer"); Thomas Pepper, *alias* Pimiento; "Blind Tom," and many others who either because of their idiosyncracies or their accomplishments are known to local history.¹¹

In 1841 the Bidwell-Bartleson party, the first group of immigrants to come by the overland route, reached Alta California. These were the first settlers to come as a body from the States. Some of their number drifted to San Jose, as did members of later bands of immigrants such as the Lansford W. Hastings, the Chiles-Walker, the Stephens-Murphy, and other parties which journeyed to California before the discovery of gold.¹²

Charles Weber, arriving in San Jose in 1841, was to occupy a prominent place as a merchant in the annals of the region. The store that he afterwards established on the banks of the San Joaquin river became the nucleus of the present city of Stockton.¹³ Josiah Belden, another outstanding immigrant merchant who came to San Jose in 1841, took an active part in civic affairs and eventually became mayor of the town.¹⁴

Martin Murphy and his large family reached the pueblo three years after Belden, and were followed in 1846 by another group of Murphys. It is estimated that at least fifteen people of the name were residing in San Jose in the

latter year. Joseph Aram, likewise a prominent pioneer, was also among those who came in '46.¹⁵

A large proportion of the overland immigrants who made their way to California after 1844 lived for a while either in the Santa Clara Valley or in San Jose itself. In fact, the number of foreigners in the pueblo increased to such an extent as the years went on that no attempt can be made here to give individual mention to persons coming after 1846. Study of an incomplete list of inhabitants compiled up to that year leads to the conclusion that by the middle of the fifth decade of the century about a hundred and fifty Americans were living in and near San Jose.¹⁶ It was not to be a great while before the invasion of these aliens was to mean the overthrow of Mexican rule in Alta California.

IMPRESSIONS OF FOREIGN VISITORS

The population of San Jose did not grow very rapidly before 1840. The twenty houses of 1814 were scarcely doubled by 1835, and the two hundred and forty inhabitants had increased to only about seven hundred, including forty foreigners, most of them Americans and Englishmen. Comparatively few of the forty adobe huts, or *jacals*, built around the plaza "where thousands of ground squirrels burrowed," were really substantial.¹⁷ A rude structure also of adobe, in which services were irregularly held, was used as a church.¹⁸

Adults and children alike indulged with great zest in gambling, even losing their shirts at times, as devotees of the sport in many places have done both before and since. It is said that the spirit of *mañana* held full sway in those days over the hospitable residents of the pueblo, who loved their *siestas* and led a veritable lotus eaters' existence.¹⁹

Several foreigners who visited San Jose during the period of Mexican rule have left descriptions of life in the pueblo during those years. The Russian navigator Otto von Kotzebue, passing through in 1824, wrote:

This pueblo lies in a beautiful spot. The houses are pleasant, built of stone, and stand in the midst of orchards and hedges of vines bearing luxuriant clusters of the richest grapes. The inhabitants came out to meet us, and with much courteousness, blended with the ceremonious politeness of the Spaniards, invited us to enter their simple but cleanly dwellings. All their countenances bespoke health and contentment, and they have good cause to rejoice in their lot. Unburdened by taxes of any kind, and in possession of as much land as they choose to cultivate, they live free from care on the rich produce of their fields and herds.²⁰

Perhaps this traveller from Russia saw things with more romantic eyes than did the Yankee immigrant Nicholas ("Cheyenne") Dawson who arrived in California in 1841 with the Bidwell-Bartleson party, expecting to find a Utopia at the end of his long trek. Dawson looked in vain for "civilization—with big fields, fine houses, churches, schools, etc. Instead, we found houses resembling unburnt brick kilns, with no floors, no chimneys, and with the openings for doors and windows closed by shutters instead of glass."²¹

How different San Jose seemed to "Cheyenne" from what it had to Kotzebue so many years before:

San Jose was then [1841] a sleepy village of perhaps one hundred and fifty inhabitants, and with no regular streets. With the exception of one or two, the houses were of adobe, a few having shingled roofs, but mostly thatched with tule or dirt on timbers. Only three Americans resided in it—Tom Bowen, Capt. Burton, and Gulnac. They all had Mexican wives. There were no farms around, but a few gardens; very few stores, and very little in them; no vehicles but carts, made entirely of wood; very little money, but plenty of hides and tallow. . . .²²

Kotzebue would definitely have made a better real estate booster than this more practical American whose hopes of finding another Eden had met disappointment.

By 1847, when Mexican control was becoming no more than a shadow and the United States was the real power in Alta California, conditions were beginning to improve in San Jose. As Hall says, "the number of foreign residents had somewhat changed the aspect of the town." Hotel accommodations were made available by Zachariah Jones, who opened a rooming house on Market Square near San Antonio Street, and "as there was not much enlightenment in the place at that time, he did not wish to appear too brilliant, by giving his public-house a very bright and shining name, so he called it the 'Half Moon.' " There was a livery-stable owned by the Wests family, and a few stores, including the one established by Weber and Lightstone, and others opened by Peter Davidson and Antonio Suñol.²³ "And thus Yankee dickering, carried on principally by Europeans, kept pace with the wants of the community."²⁴

Nearly all the foreigners who took time to make notes mention the beauty and fertility of the region surrounding San Jose, as did Chester S. Lyman²⁵ and John Charles Frémont.²⁶ The latter wrote just before the gold rush: "Wild oats cover it in continuous fields, and herds of cattle and bands of horses are scattered over low hills and partly isolated ridges." Lyman, too, was especially impressed by the Alameda: "Our road from the Mission to the Pueblo was a beautiful one finely shaded by two rows of a species of willow." And again: "Being disappointed about a horse I footed it back to the Pueblo in season for breakfast at Capt. Webers. The walk between the two places, beneath the overarching rows of willows is delightful." Lyman tells us that "The land thro' all this region is a fertile plain & is equal to any in the country. Near the Pueblo is a fine tract belonging to Mr Forbes which Com Stockton has been negotiating for at \$10,500. . . ." This adventurer who had come around the Horn describes San Jose as consisting "of a few miserable houses with one or two exceptions, tho' it is a place which must grow in consequence of its location & its fine land," he adds prophetically.²⁷

General William Tecumseh Sherman, who played his part in the conquest of California, visited San Jose during his stay in the West in 1847-48. He was not so attracted by the country around the town as others had been, although

he does stress the picturesqueness of the region as seen from "the Santa Cruz Mountains, from which we had sublime views of the scenery, first looking east toward the lower Bay of San Francisco, with the bright plains of Santa Clara and San José, and then to the west upon the ocean, the town of Monterey being visible sixty miles off."²⁸

Of the pueblo itself Sherman says: "The *pueblo* of San José was a string of low adobe-houses festooned with red peppers and garlic; and the Mission of Santa Clara was a dilapidated concern, with its church and orchard. The long line of poplar-trees lining the road from San José to Santa Clara bespoke a former period when the priests had ruled the land."²⁹

Perhaps Zachariah Jones's "Half Moon" was filled, or perhaps the accommodations it offered did not suit Sherman, but, at any rate, he could not stop at San José on one of his journeys through there in 1848 because "there was no public house or tavern" where he could spend the night, "so we started toward Santa Cruz. . . ."³⁰

It may have been that the British traveller William R. Ryan, who arrived in California on the eve of the gold rush, was trying to take Paul Bunyan's laurels as a tall-story teller away from that famous woodsman by telling a very tall story about San Jose:

Pueblo is a good-sized town, and contains about 4,000 inhabitants. . . . The buildings were constructed as much in the Yankee as in the Spanish style, a number of Mormons having come here at an early period, and built several hundred neat wooden houses and cottages, which form a picturesque contrast to the heavy old *adobe* residences of the native inhabitants. . . .

Pueblo is decidedly one of the prettiest towns in California, and as regards both climate and cheerfulness of aspect, superior to any that I had as yet seen. Unlike all the others, it is situated upon level ground, and is surrounded by plains, which are for the most part well covered with pasture, and abundantly stocked with cattle.³¹

Sherman had seen only "poor ranches producing horses and cattle" when he journeyed between Monterey and San Francisco.³²

Much more dependable than Ryan's description is the account in the *Californian* for May 3, 1848, signed *Americus*. This writer addresses a reply to the request of the editors of that early publication for information concerning San Jose and vicinity.

Corn grows well here. I have seen some grown upon sandy soil, unaided by irrigation, the ears of which were 14 inches long. . . . Cabbage grows the year round. . . . [San Jose is] situated in a beautiful level plain, about six miles from the bay of San Francisco, on the east bank of the Guadalupe river. It contains 100 houses, with a population of about 850 souls, and boasts of 10 stores and groceries, 4 blacksmiths, 1 wheelright, 1 armorer, 4 carpenters, 1 saddler, 1 tanner, 2 tailors, 1 chairmaker, 2 shoemakers and one brickmaker. On the river are three mills, 2 of them in town, and ample room and water for three more, while there are numerous creeks of never-failing water, flowing from the mountains, sufficient to drive more machinery than will ever be required in this valley.

Town lots 50 varas square can be bought for \$15.50 each, with the best title. In the neighborhood of the town small tracts of land from 100 to 300 acres, may be purchased at

from 75 cents to \$2 per acre. . . . The value of the land however, is enhanced daily. All that is wanted here now is an immigration of the right sort of men, viz[.]: farmers, to make this one of the richest countries on the face of the globe. The only currency at present in use is specie. Butter meets with a ready sale, at from 37½ to 50 cents per lb. Wheat brings from 50 to 62½ cents per bushel.

The hills and mountains in the neighborhood appear to be rich in minerals. There have been no less than fifteen quicksilver mines discovered, and that at Santa Clara is said to be the richest ever yet known. . . . Upon the whole, I cannot conceive of a richer spot, both in regard to agriculture and mineral wealth, than this valley. And last, but by no means least, it is one of the healthiest portions of healthy California, having a very mild temperature, but little variation the year round.

In haste,

Yours truly, *Americus*.

San Jose de Guadalupe,
March 30, 1848.³³

Here was San Jose's first real booster, the first man to see the advantage of a wholesale immigration into the Santa Clara Valley.

AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE

San Jose, founded by Neve in 1777 as a production center, has remained an agricultural community to the present day. The fertile fields of the region, cultivated by the *pobladores* so long ago, have become the heritage of generations of farmers. Abundant yields of wheat, corn, and beans are reported throughout the Mexican period, and during the same time cattle, sheep, and horses became so numerous that the supply far exceeded the demand.³⁴

Outside markets for tallow and hides developed rapidly after 1822 when more and more Russian and American vessels called at the port of San Francisco. Foreign ships now had permission from the authorities to visit interior settlements along the Bay.³⁵ In the classic *Two Years Before the Mast* Richard Henry Dana, Jr., has given a vivid picture of the hide and tallow trade. When Dana was in San Francisco, in December, 1835, he was ordered to go to San Jose on an Indian trading boat, but, because of a misunderstanding, the boat left without him. Dana's description of commercial activities on the Bay is, however, full of interest:

A few days after our arrival [at San Francisco], the rainy season set in, and, for three weeks, it rained almost every hour, without cessation. This was bad for our trade, for the collection of hides is managed differently in this port from what it is in any other on the coast. The mission of San Francisco, near the anchorage, has no trade at all, but those of San José, Santa Clara, and others, situated on large creeks or rivers which run into the bay, and distant between fifteen and forty miles from the anchorage, do a greater business in hides than any in California. Large boats, manned by Indians, and capable of carrying nearly a thousand hides apiece, are attached to the missions, and sent down to the vessels with hides, to bring away goods in return. Some of the crews of the vessels are obliged to go and come in the boats, to look out for the hides and goods. These are favorite expeditions with the sailors, in fine weather; but now, to be gone three or four days in open boats, in constant rain, without any shelter, and with cold fog, was hard service.³⁶

Farmers of the Santa Clara valley found a good market for their fresh meat and vegetables among the crews of the whaling vessels, many of the sailors on which suffered from scurvy on account of a lack of the proper food.³⁷ William Heath Davis, one of the pioneers of the time, tells how these whaling ships, after anchoring at San Francisco, used to send out small boats to barter with the ranchers, since there were then no produce merchants in California.³⁸

Trade in wheat, as well as in hides and tallow, with the Russians at Fort Ross and the American fur traders was also fairly important,³⁹ as was the market for surplus grains provided by an increasing commerce between California and the Sandwich Islands.⁴⁰

The first flour-mill in the Santa Clara Valley was built on the Guadalupe in 1844.⁴¹

THE INDIAN PROBLEM

The Indians of the valley were more of a problem during the period of Mexican control than they had been during the Spanish régime. José Mariano Estrada had so thoroughly crushed the Indian rebels of Purisima and Santa Inez in 1824 that the natives did not give much trouble in California for another five years.

But early in 1829, Estanislao, a native *alcalde*, persuaded a number of neophytes from the Missions of San Jose and Santa Clara to join a group of gentiles who had established themselves behind rude fortifications on the San Joaquin River. A small body of troops, under the command of Sergeant Antonio Soto, was dispatched from San Francisco, at the request of Father Duran of San Jose, to break up the ambush. The Indians, however, had chosen a spot so thickly surrounded by brambles and willow trees that they were able successfully to attack Soto and his men while the latter were trying to make their way through the brush. The Spanish troops were forced to retreat to San Jose, where Soto shortly afterwards died of his wounds. The natives were so greatly elated at defeating their enemy that the revolt threatened for a time to assume large proportions. A new expedition, supplied with arms and horses, and including volunteers from San Jose and some friendly Indians as well, was sent out under the leadership of Ensign Mariano Guadalupe. The rebels, unable to withstand the force of this well organized attack, were obliged to surrender.⁴² Ewing Young was one of those who helped the padres of San Jose to subdue the neophytes.⁴³

Ambrosio, the chief of a rancheria near San Jose, succeeded in persuading about forty Indians to join him for an attack on the Mission a few years after the revolt of 1829, but he was captured and later put to death. Many of his small band were killed or wounded.⁴⁴

If the Indians were not skilled enough to avoid being defeated in most of the skirmishes which took place between them and the settlers, they nevertheless were very successful at annoying their white brothers in another way. For

the natives were expert horse and cattle thieves. The situation eventually became so serious that the *alcalde* of San Jose was obliged to inform the *jefe politico del territorio* (political head of the region) of the difficulties in which the farmers found themselves on account of the loss of their livestock. *Regidor* Sebastian Peralta and a group of citizens reported the rounding up of "58 beasts stolen by the Indians."⁴⁵ Two years later, in 1835, the *alcalde* addressed the same high dignitary on the subject of stolen horses:

It is said that last Saturday certain Indians, Chauciles and Joyimas, swooped down and took the rest of the horses which belonged to the pueblo. They had to be pursued on horses from the mill and could not be reached—more particularly because they did not stop at the rancherias "in order to prevent certain greatly irritated men from committing some murders." The pueblo is in a lamentable condition, having no way to round up its cattle scattered in the fields. . . .⁴⁶

CHURCH AND SCHOOL

The spiritual welfare of the inhabitants of San Jose was still largely in the hands of the padres of Mission Santa Clara during the Mexican period. Like many shepherds both before and since, the padres were at times concerned over the indifference of the members of their flock. In 1836 Brother Rafael de Jesús Moreno requested the *alcalde* of the pueblo to give a list of the residents of San Jose to the head of the Mission, for, with the approach of Lent, it was essential to know how many were ready to fulfill their obligations to the church. Brother Rafael did not mince words:

I must also ask you to warn all citizens who do not fulfill their duties to the Church not to risk coming to the temple, lest a blush prevent them from entering. For it is decreed by the Fourth Lateran Council that those who do not perform their spiritual duties are neither to enter the Church nor receive a Christian burial.⁴⁷

Brother Rafael, distressed on account of the great number of backsliders of whom he knew during the two years he had been at the Mission, asked the *alcalde* of San Jose "why those who do not comply with the laws of God" should not receive the same punishment as those who failed to abide by the laws of the Republic.⁴⁸

Efforts were still being made to instruct the young in the rudiments of learning. José Zenon Fernández was schoolmaster in the pueblo in 1836.⁴⁹ Toward the close of the Mexican régime, in 1844, Governor Manuel Micheltorena sent out general regulations from Monterey ordering that schools be established in San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Monterey, San Jose, San Francisco, and Sonoma. The order provided that the school should be set up in the same house in which the schoolmistress (no mention is made of a schoolmaster) lived. The branches of study were to include reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as Christian doctrine, with special instruction for the girls in sewing with some embroidery and weaving. School was to be held, except on Sundays and special religious or national holidays, from eight to eleven and from two

to five each day. "All children who are well are to be sent to these schools, unless their families provide private tutors for them, or the children already know what is taught there."⁵⁰

When considered in perspective, the Mexican era apparently differed very little from the period of Spanish rule. Life at the pueblo of San Jose moved on at the same slow pace as it had during the previous half century. The character of the government changed very little after Mexico assumed control of the province of Alta California. The population of San Jose did, however, increase considerably, which probably accounted for the corresponding increase in farm products and the improvement in trade between the pueblo and the outside world. Cultural advantages were still limited, and available sources would indicate that life for the inhabitants of San Jose was more or less dreary and monotonous before the American occupation. The more exciting story of the American conquest, the discovery of gold, and the coming of the railroad will be told in a subsequent chapter.

[To be continued]

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. The information for the general background of San Jose history was taken principally from Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York, 1923), *passim*; John Walton Caughey, *History of the Pacific Coast* (Los Angeles, 1933), Chaps. 9 and 10.

2. The detail of the plan for the occupation of California is set forth at length in *The Spanish Occupation of California*, edited by Douglas S. Watson (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1934), pp. 21-23.

3. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), I, 311.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 311-12. See also Frederic Hall, *The History of San José and Surroundings* (San Francisco, 1871), p. 15. Frederic Hall was a practicing attorney in San Jose at the time his book was published. Though carefully done, this work has many shortcomings, yet it is a useful source for this subject.

5. Note the census of San Jose presented below. *Infra*, note 6; Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

6. *Provincias Internas, Archivo General de Mexico*, Tom. 121, Neve to Croix, April 15, 1778. Translated from transcripts in the Henry E. Huntington Library by Lindley Bynum and Haydee Noya. Mr. Bynum has kindly permitted the use of this material for the present history.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1885), I, 413. See also Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

9. Same as note 6.

10. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 313.

11. Same as note 6.

12. See map in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 350, which shows the position of the lots and the accompanying note gives the names of the respective grantees.

13. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-30. The law limited the size of a pueblo to four square leagues.

14. For a discussion of the removal of the pueblo to a higher location see *ibid.*, Chap. 5.

15. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 132.

16. *Ibid.*, II, 134. See also, Mary Floyd Williams, "Mission, Presidio and Pueblo," in California Historical Society *Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 1.

17. Raymundo Carrillo al Com.^o de Sⁿ José—Sobre elección de invalidos p.^a Alcaldes. (Monterey, November 6, 1801.)

The Spanish documents referred to in this paper have been taken, unless otherwise stated, from San Jose Archives in the Bancroft Library. The documents used in writing on the Spanish period were translated into English by Professor Maxwell Savelle and Carmen Savelle.

18. Raymundo Carrillo al Comisionado de S.ⁿ José—Sobre elección de invalidos p.^a autoridades. (April 3, 1802.)

19. A *procurador-sindico* corresponds roughly to a district attorney in American county government, except that the former has more administrative authority.

20. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-11. See also Hittell, *op. cit.*, I, 443.

21. Hittell, *op. cit.*, I, 413.

22. Hermenegildo Sal a M. Castro. (Monterey, October 4, 1800.)

23. *Ibid.*

24. Vicente Pablo de Solar—Castigos a incendiarios de los pastos. (Monterey, September 14, 1815.)

25. Hermenegildo Sal—al Cabo Ig^o Vallejo. (Monterey, April 12, 1799.)

26. H^o Sal a M. Castro. (Monterey, August 11, 1800.)

27. José M^a Estudillo—al Comisionado de San José. (Monterey, February 18, 1807.)

28. Estudillo Comand^{te}—al Comisionado de Sⁿ José. (Monterey, January 7, 1807.)

29. Gob.^r Sola—al Comisionado de San José. (Monterey, November 21, 1817.)

30. Bancroft, *California*, II, 133, 377. Bancroft presents his figures only as estimates.

31. *Ibid.*, II, 133, 182-83.

32. Gob.^r Pedro Fages—a Señor Ign.^o Vallejo, Comis.^{do} en S.ⁿ José. (Monterey, November 20, 1786.)

33. Fr. José Ant^o de Uria a Macario Castro. (San José, May 9, 1805.)

34. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 331; Hall, *San José*, p. 90.

35. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 133-34, 180.

36. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.

38. Chapman, *California*, p. 405.

39. Captain George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery* (London, 1798), II, 16-18.

40. *Ibid.*, II, 19.

41. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

42. Hermenegildo Sal al Cabo de la Escolta del Pueblo de S.ⁿ José. Prohibiciones a buques extranjeros. (Monterey, November 2, 1795.)

43. Hermenegildo Sal al Sargento Macario de Castro—S. Jose. (October 6, 1800.)

44. [J. P. Munro-Fraser], *History of Santa Clara County, California; Including Its Geography, Geology, Topography, Climatography and Description* (San Francisco, 1881), p. 77. This book is frequently referred to as Alley, Bowen and Company's history. The latter are the publishers. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 451, thinks that Gilroy may not have come to Santa Clara valley until 1815.

45. Hall, *San José*, p. 113.
46. Caughey, *Pacific Coast*, pp. 194-95.
47. José M.^a Estudillo al Comisionado del Pueblo de S. José. Sobre fraudes en el comercio de sebos. (Monterey, August 17, 1927.)
48. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-42, 46.
49. Gob.^r Arrillaga—al Comisionado de San José. Sobre reducción de gentiles y utilización de sus servicios. (Monterey, July 23, 1807.)
50. Arrillaga—al Comisionado de San José—Sobre tratamiento de los gentiles. (Monterey, September 5, 1807.)
51. Bancroft, *California*, I, 306; Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
52. Chapman, *California*, pp. 419-26.
53. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 305.
54. *Ibid.*, I, 313.
55. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 80. The boundary line was finally established on the Guadalupe.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.
57. José M.^a Estudillo al Comd. de S.ⁿ José. Contrato sobre instrucción pública. (Monterey, October 26, 1811.)

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Chapman, *California*, p. 454. This introductory section is based entirely on Chapter 33 of this book.
2. Joaquⁿ Higuera, Alcalde Constitue.^l Juan Miranda, Secret.^o del Ayunt.^o (San José, May 10, 1825.)
- The Spanish documents used for this chapter were rendered into English by Mary Schofield.
3. Bancroft, *California*, II, 604-6.
4. *Ibid.*, III, 702.
5. *Ibid.*, III, 729-32; Hall, *San José*, Chap. 13.
6. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 124. See also *Diary of Philip Leget Edwards* (S. F., Grabhorn Press, 1932), pp. 19, 22, for contemporary mention of San José de Alvarado.
7. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 602. Bancroft believes there were five or six foreigners in San Jose in 1821.
8. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 118. Nicholas ("Cheyenne") Dawson, whose *Narrative* will be referred to below, estimates one hundred and fifty inhabitants in San Jose in 1841.
9. *Californian*, May 3, 1848.
10. [Munro-Fraser], *Santa Clara Valley*, pp. 77-78.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 78; Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-21.
12. Caughey, *Pacific Coast*, pp. 265-66.
13. Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36.
14. *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 145-46.
15. Harry N. M. Winton, "Overland Emigration to California, 1841-1848" (Master of Arts Thesis, Stanford University, 1933) p. 105.
16. The list of arrivals appears in Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-42.
17. George D. Lyman, *John Marsh, Pioneer* (New York, 1930), p. 215.
18. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

19. Lyman, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
20. Bancroft, *California*, II, 602-3.
21. *Narrative of Nicholas "Cheyenne" Dawson (Overland to California in '41 & '49, and Texas in '51)*, (San Francisco, 1933), pp. 29-30.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
23. Hall, *San José*, p. 188.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
25. Frederick J. Teggart, ed., *Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California, 1845-1850. Being a Personal Record Kept by Chester S. Lyman* (New Haven, 1924). Hereafter cited as Lyman, *Around the Horn*.
26. John C. Frémont, "Geographical Memoir upon Upper California," *30th Cong., 2d Sess., House Miscellaneous Docs. No. 5* (Washington, 1849).
27. Lyman, *Around the Horn*, pp. 217, 230-31.
28. *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman* (New York, 1876), I, 44.
29. *Ibid.*, I, 31.
30. *Ibid.*, I, 44.
31. William Redmond Ryan, *Personal Adventures in Upper and Lower California, in 1848-9* (London, 1850), I, 263-65.
32. Sherman, *Memoirs*, I, 31.
33. *Californian*, May 3, 1848.
34. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
35. William Heath Davis (Douglas S. Watson, ed.), *Seventy-five Years in California* (San Francisco, 1929), p. 58.
36. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Two Years Before the Mast* (Philadelphia, 1911), pp. 244-45.
37. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 154. See also Robert G. Cleland, *History of California, The American Period* (New York, 1922), p. 36.
38. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
39. Hall, *San José*, p. 119.
40. [Alfred Robinson], *Life in California During a Residence of Several Years in That Territory* (New York, 1848).
41. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
42. John S. Hittell, *California*, II, 116-18.
43. Josiah Gregg, "Commerce on the Prairies" in Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1905), XX, 23.
44. Hittell, *op. cit.*, I, 738.
45. [El Alcalde] al Jefe Polit.^o del Territorio. Hurto de bestias. . . (San José, Nov. 10, 1833.)
46. Alcalde—al Jefe politico.—Robos de caballos por indios. (San José, Feb. 5, 1835.)
47. Fr. Rafael de Jesús Moreno—al Alcalde de San José Guadalupe. Sobre cumplim.^{to} por los vecinos con la iglesia. (Mission of Santa Clara, Feb. 5, 1836.)
48. *Ibid.*
49. José Zenon Fernandez, maestro de escuela. (San José, February 23, 1836.)
50. Gob.^r Man.^l Michelt.^a Secret.^o Man.^l Jimeno. Reglamento para las escuelas. (Monterey, May, 1844.)

JOHN AUGUSTUS SUTTER'S EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

By JAMES PETER ZOLLINGER

*"I'm not a book of precious fiction,
"I am but human, full of contradiction."*

INTRODUCTORY NOTE: Sutter's rôle in the history of California is so important that the truth concerning his early life in Switzerland, far from detracting from the high position he was later to occupy, rather places him in a more appealing and extraordinary light. His rise from the wreck he had made of his youthful days to become the foremost figure in a distant country displays the metal of his make up. While Dr. Zollinger's article does tear away the veil of a fictitious military and political past, it likewise makes greater our appreciation of the successes Sutter did attain, and gives to the reader a flesh and blood man, understandable and human, instead of a paltry hero whose paths led only into pleasant places. For the individual who failed in Bergdorf to emerge a bare decade later as lord of New Helvetia, powerful even to the point of instilling fear in the Mexican government of California, respected by all with whom he came in contact, who always held out a helping hand to those in distress, shows that Sutter possessed a character not lacking in elements of greatness. It is for these reasons that the Publication Committee now prints for the first time the facts, buttressed by documentary evidence, of Sutter's life from his birth until his departure for America in 1834.

JOHN A. SUTTER is coming to the fore again after a period of comparative eclipse. The last few years have accumulated a considerable literature about him on two continents, and today even Hollywood is aware of what rare character and epic it has so long neglected.

Sutter is the greatest and most romantic figure of the gold-rush days. At that time gold and Sutter were synonymous the world over. Having come to the United States in 1834, he became in 1839 the first white settler in the Sacramento Valley. A few years and two Mexican land grants sufficed him to conjure out of that virgin soil a little empire teeming with activity, "New Helvetia," over which he ruled with benevolent absolutism. New Helvetia became the nucleus for the American colonization of the Pacific coast. Without it California might forever have been lost to the United States. It was Sutter's enterprise also that led to the gold discovery. Sacramento City rose on his personal property. His was the chance to double the wealth of John Jacob Astor. But Sutter died a poor man. Four adverse powers in the main brought about his ruin: 1) The hordes of lawless squatters who occupied his lands, stole and killed his cattle herds and destroyed his crops. 2) His attorneys, managers, and land agents joined hands with his enemies and succeeded in



Portrait of JOHANN AUGUST SUTTER, by Buchser
in the Musée des Beaux Arts Soleure Switzerland, reproduced from a photograph of the
original in the possession of Sutter's granddaughter Mrs. M. Van Wolbeck.

stripping him of most of his possessions. 3) Sutter's own incompetence as a man of Big Business, coupled with his extravagance and openhandedness. 4) A United States land policy in California that took a technicality for a pretext to relieve him of two-thirds of his real estate.

Sutter was not, as has been so often repeated, an adventurer. He was deeply rooted in the soil. But he had his decidedly puzzling sides. The many seemingly irreconcilable facets of his nature have involved him in an unending controversy. He was both shrewd and simple; a polished courtier and a gruff peasant; a man with an almost pathological aversion to paying debts and a benefactor and spendthrift towards hundreds to whom he owed nothing. He was credited with a unique talent for handling people of all stages of life from trappers to diplomats, and he was himself easily handled and cajoled by Yankees and others with a little more guile and cunning.

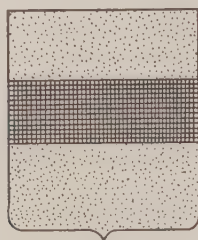
About his early life the most absurd stories have been printed from Sutter's own time down to the latest so-called biography and the newest editions of standard works of reference. If this sounds like a good deal of blame heaped on biographers and encyclopaedists, the blame is strongly mitigated inasmuch as these writers can quote what would seem the most impeccable authority—John A. Sutter himself. It is one of the aims of this article to show that Sutter had good reasons to conceal behind a heavy smoke-screen of braggadocio effusions an all too painful and inglorious past. Nor was this feat very difficult for him, for he was endowed with a rare power of imagination and the gift almost to believe in his own fictional re-creation of his youth.

It stands to reason that the early years are easily the most important phase of such a man's life from a psychological viewpoint. Sutter came to America as a mature man of thirty-one. He was thirty-six by the time he settled down in California. His character was well set in the mould. If not too much, enough is known today to allow us to form a fairly accurate picture of his ancestral and personal background.

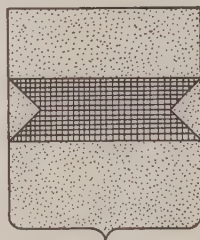
Contrary to a general belief, *Johann August Suter*¹ was of lowly origin. His forebears were a long line of peasants native of the northwest of Switzerland. The name itself is proof that they had lived there for centuries. It is one of the oldest occupational surnames and derived from a trade which the invading Teuton settlers learned from the Roman population of that region, with whom they mingled. Suter (pronounced "sooter") is the Latin *sutor*, the cobbler.² The form is typically Alemannic, appearing as "Sauter" in all other German dialects.

The Suters have been traced as far back as the Sixteenth Century³ in the little village of Rünenberg (one of the three hamlets constituting the church parish of Kilchberg) in the Canton of Basel. In the year in which the family appears for the first time in the baptismal register of Kilchberg, in 1559, three names are mentioned at once: Hans, Peter, and Heini Suter. It may be that originally they came from the near Aargau, for an old Aargovian branch⁴ of

the family carries practically the same coat of arms which Johann August Suter himself carried. A son of the first Hans Suter is mentioned in the church register of 1574, and further descendants can be traced down to the present day. The *Suters* were all simple peasants and subject to the very petty rule of the fast ossifying patriciate of the City of Basel. They had no rights, save those of paying taxes and tithes and interest on mortgages. Their lives consisted in doing everything in their power to enable their urban overlords of Basel to grow fat, rich, sclerotic, acridly witty, and more and more convinced that they were rulers by the Grace of God.



*Oldest Suter coat
of arms
(Aargovian family)*



*John A. Suter's
coat of arms*

About the middle of the Eighteenth Century a little exodus of Suters from their native Rünenberg began. One *Johann Suter* moved to the city of Basel, there found work in a papermill and advanced to the position of a master-papermaker or foreman (not manufacturer). He was the first of the rural clan to embrace this industrial occupation, and henceforth the combination "Suter, Papierer" appears frequently on the pages of the Kilchberg church register.

Johann August Suter's grandfather, *Johann Jakob Suter*, belonged to this new industrial generation. Born on September 23, 1742, he left Rünenberg, probably in his teens, and followed his clansman Johann to the city. He, too, became a paper-maker and, through his marriage in 1774 to *Sophie Elisabeth Simon*, native of Niederbipp, Berne, became the brother-in-law of Johann Suter. Of this union, on January 2, 1776, the general's father, also called *Johann Jakob Suter*, was born.

Some time after the birth of his son, the elder J. Jakob Suter left Basel and accepted a position in the papermill at Kandern, a tiny town in the neighboring Margravate of Baden, thirteen miles north of Basel. There he advanced to the position of foreman. His son, Johann Jakob, Jr., followed his father's trade and later inherited from him the foreman's position in the mill at Kandern.

In August, 1801, Johann Jakob Suter, Jr., married *Christine Wilhelmine Stober*, the daughter of the pastor of Grenzach, Johann Adolf Stober, and his

wife Christine, née Kurz. Two sons were born of this marriage. The eldest, the subject of this article, *Johann August Suter*, first saw the light of this planet on February 15, 1803, and was baptized on the 23rd.⁵ A second child, *Jakob Friedrich*, was born more than five years later, on November 27, 1808. Although grandfather and father had settled down, and two sons had been born, in a German state and of a German mother, the Suters remained *heimat-berechtigt* in Rünenberg, i.e. they retained their Rünenberg citizenship, or remained, literally, "entitled to a home" in the village which their forefathers had called native for centuries.

About the personal circumstances which dominated the childhood of young August Suter we know absolutely nothing. The fact, however, that both his father and paternal grandfather had risen above the general level of working-men, would justify the inference that they were intelligent and ambitious men, who earned enough to live in primitive comfort. The mental and social inheritance given to the boy by his mother, the pastor's daughter, has apparently never been investigated. But the surmise may be permitted that from his maternal side the boy inherited most of the unusual traits which lifted him right out of his paternal peasant ancestry: beauty and personal charm, the gift to handle people and to make friends and valuable social contacts, versatility and eloquence, and the love of books which was his to the end of his days. No doubt, he proved an unusually gifted child, for it is authentically reported⁶ that father Suter thought his two sons much too good and intelligent to follow him in the paper-maker's trade.

If our knowledge of Johann August Suter's personal circumstances in the time of his childhood is practically nil, we can be all the more definite in the assertion that life in general as he observed it about him was as interesting and absorbing as any boy could desire. At the date of his birth, southern and western Germany and Switzerland had already come under the rule of the Premier Consul Bonaparte. Hundreds of age-old privileges had been abolished. In Switzerland the peasants were given equal rights with the burghers of the cities. In southern and western Germany the possessions of the church had been secularized and distributed among the local rulers. Old Austrian possessions in those regions were given to the German princes who had been wise enough to surrender to the French armies without raising a sword. The result was a sudden swelling of the saps of life in the bourgeoisie and among the peasants. After centuries of dependence and serfdom their time had at last come.

Johann August Suter's earliest years were spent during the heyday of Napoleonism. He was nine years old at the time of Napoleon's fateful Russian campaign. During August's entire boyhood Germany was an armed camp or battlefield. The little Kandern, being situated only a few miles from the only bridge far and wide that allowed armies to cross the Rhine easily, was rarely devoid of a few uniforms and frequently occupied by smaller or larger con-

tingents. In October, 1813, when August was ten years old, the battle of Leipzig took place and forced Napoleon to retreat to the French side of the Rhine. Within three months Basel, due to its bridge, became the concentration point of the largest of the allied armies. For days and weeks they poured in through all the roads of the Grand Duchy of Baden. Basel herself quartered twenty thousand men within her walls. The height of this immense military pageant was reached when, on January 1, 1814, the three most serene crowned heads and their military entourage rode over the Rhine Bridge into Basel, there to establish the headquarters of the campaign against Napoleon. The three allied monarchs were the Czar Alexander of Russia, the Emperor Joseph II of Austria, and King August Wilhelm of Prussia. The little Kandern saw and bore its full share of quartered troops and requisition officers.

It seems likely that these armies and officers in their brilliant uniforms were sparks in the oil of young August Suter's ambitions. They kindled to a glowing fire his hopes of playing an important military part himself one day to come. Proof, of course, there is none for this assumption. But his later life bears out the conjecture. When he died, his purely decorative title of a major general of the California Militia was all that he could call his own, but he bore the title with a pride and polished show that would have sufficed for a handful of real generals. The desire to be a military somebody was half of his life and became the mother of that unbridled urge of his for palming off stories and anecdotes of a military career as fictitious as any Münchhausen tale.

Trying to answer the question of Johan August Suter's education, we are left more to guessing again. It is not impossible that his mother, being a clergyman's daughter, was an educated woman and that she guided the early education of her two sons herself. The writer of an obituary in the *Amerikanischer Schweizer Kalender* for the year 1881, who evidently had his information from Sutter himself, states that Sutter, having finished his elementary education in the public school of Kandern and been tutored in Latin and French by the local minister, enjoyed the further benefit of instruction in a private school in St. Blaise, in the Canton of Neuchâtel, Switzerland. In his "Personal Reminiscences"⁷ Sutter himself says that he "went to school in Neuchâtel." However, as will be seen time and again, Sutter's own statements regarding his early life cannot be accepted with too much skepticism. It is significant that Martin Birmann, our best-informed source for this phase of Suter's life, says nothing about a sojourn of young Suter in French Switzerland. If Suter did learn to speak French fluently (though never to any degree of perfection), he may as well have learnt it in Basel which, ever since the days of the Huguenots, always had a large French colony, and whose oldest native generation in Suter's time had probably still been brought up in French as the only language worthy to flow from the lips of an educated man in the Eighteenth Century.

Be that as it may, the next certain thing we know is that in the year 1819,⁸ probably at Easter, August Suter was sent by his father to Basel, to be appren-

ticed to the publisher, bookseller, and printer Emanuel Thurneysen. As has already been mentioned, Father Suter thought his first-born fit to become something better than a worker, or even a foreman, in a papermill. The step from the elementary paper-making to the greater prestige of printing, publishing and bookselling was logical. No doubt, there were old connections between the Kandern papermill and the firm of Thurneysen. Also, Pastor Stober, the boy's maternal grandfather, may have made use of his influence and connections.

Even this step, however, is more problematical than the unsuspecting might think,—unless the advance from a mill foreman to an office worker or shop assistant was considered a good step upwards on the social ladder of life both by father and son. The truth is that, with the best training and ability in the field of book publishing, August Suter had no immediate prospects of rising to eminence and independence in business. It must be borne in mind that all the civic liberties and the social progress, brought to Central Europe by the French armies under Bonaparte, had been ruthlessly stifled again by the Congress of Vienna in 1814 and 1815. In Switzerland, too, reaction held its sway, and of all the Swiss cities Basel was one of the most reactionary.

In this connection it is important to point out that August Suter was *heimatberechtigt*, i.e. "entitled to a home" only in the village of Rünenberg, in the rural domain ruled over by the City of Basel. In that tiny village alone was he a citizen with what rights such a citizen had. In every other town or village he was considered a mere settler and was disfranchized. Such were the conditions into which Switzerland had back-stepped at the moment of Napoleon's defeat in 1813. The freedom of trade, established with the coming of the French revolutionary armies, was at once abolished again. Everywhere reaction was at its height at the time when August Suter went out into the world to learn the ways of business. All halfway profitable crafts, trades, and professions were reserved for the ruling cities and their native burghers. In Basel the artistic professions and a few chairs in the university formed the only exception to the strict rule of burgher's privileges, for the city was too intent on money-making to produce geniuses in the arts and sciences, and the few exceptional men⁹ she did produce in these fields were always in a great hurry to leave the native soil so utterly hostile to any creation save that of wealth.

A picture of the mentality of Basel must always form an integral part in any attempt to trace the early years of Johann August Suter. It was there that he spent the three last years of his impressionable teens. It was in Basel that those forces began to grow in him which, a dozen years later, had accrued enough momentum to propel him unceremoniously across the Atlantic. Even for an Old-World city Basel is, and always was, unique. Superseding old Celtic and Roman settlements on the same spot, the town came into power in the first quarter of the Thirteenth Century through the foresight of her Prince-Bishop, Heinrich von Thun, who built the first solid bridge across the Rhine. Thus

Basel became one of the foremost trading points along great international routes between Germany and southern France, Spain and Italy, and between southern Germany and northern France. The city rose to world prominence between 1431 and 1448, when the great Oecumenical Council met within her walls. Basel was then the spiritual hub of the Christian world. It was this great and long-lasting clerical assembly which gave a start to the paper industry of Basel and its neighborhood. The founding of the University of Basel by Pope Pius II in the year 1460 and the simultaneous introduction of book-printing made Basel for a time the foremost center of learning and literature in any German speaking land. As such it reached its greatest glory during the years of the Reformation, when Erasmus of Rotterdam taught at the university.

But it was, finally, the Sixteenth Century which gave the city its definite mental stamp. At the time the city council admitted into citizenship a considerable number of refugee Huguenot families both from France and Italy, not forgetting to select them most carefully according to their wealth and abilities as promoters of business. Within an incredibly short time these wealthy and erudite Huguenots dominated the patriciate of Basel, and their extreme puritanism, coupled with a shrewdness without equal in business, set the tone of the city for centuries to come. During the political upheaval in Germany preceding the Reformation, Basel had cast its lot with the confederacy of the little Helvetic republics and declared itself independent of the Reich. It now found itself in a most unique situation: Geographically it was, and is again since 1919, situated at the point where Germany, France and Switzerland touch. Politically it belonged to Switzerland. Economically it depended almost entirely on its export industries and its character as an international center for the exchange of goods. Its eyes were, therefore, screwed upon foreign lands much more than upon its political hinterland. Its very dialect is a Nether-Alemannic enclave in Upper-Alemannic surroundings, i.e. strikingly un-Swiss. The high commercial and cultural level which Basel reached, together with its complete inner severance from any of the three adjacent countries (the political affiliation with the Swiss republics was extremely loose), bred an exclusiveness of spirit and tradition which in the course of centuries stamped it into a sort of self-centered and voluntary Gentile ghetto, with the three hallmarks of every ghetto: incessant inbreeding, strict and bigoted adherence to ossified religious conventions, and the fanatic pursuit of monetary gain.

Such was the city (ruled once more, for a last short spell, by pharisaic patriciate) which Johann August Suter entered in his seventeenth year as a commercial apprentice. If this youth was the slip which, transplanted to California, grew into the incredible fellow known to history as Captain Sutter of New Helvetia, then we can feel a lively compassion for him and his four years in Basel, the most uncongenial place for him imaginable. Thurneysen's¹⁰ was an old and very reputable firm. The sanctimonious spirit of the city can be

assumed to have dominated that house, too, for the connections of the Thurneysen family with the State-Church of Basel were always close. We cannot go far wrong in visualizing Johann August Suter in a rather uncomfortable situation. It is hard to conceive what appeal the daily drudge of small business and the ritual of the counting house could have for a youth of his independent spirit, restlessness of mind, with his vast vague dreams and little ability to subject himself to the rule of superiors. But why precisely he left the firm and the book business after his apprenticeship we do not know.

The one definite thing we know about this time of Suter's life is that one of his fellow apprentices was Johann Jakob Weber,¹¹ in later years one of the leaders of continental publishers, a pioneer in the special field of modern book and newspaper illustration, the founder of a large German publishing house and of the first illustrated newspaper: the *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung*. Weber, born April 3, 1803, was only a few weeks Suter's junior but had begun his apprenticeship with the firm of Thurneysen a year earlier than Suter and with the advantage of a regular high school education. While Suter left the firm after having served his apprenticeship, Weber stayed with it until 1825, and then continued in the branch, serving with various well-known publishers in Geneva, Paris, and Leipzig, where he founded his own firm at the same time that Suter, a fugitive bankrupt, was on his way to America.

Weber is of interest to us only because he affords us an early and illuminating example of the manner in which Suter was wont to aggrandize in later years his pitiful European past. When, in the year 1876, he dictated his reminiscences to H. H. Bancroft, he did not fail to mention the by then famous J. J. Weber,—beside Napoleon III the only European whose name appears in the few lines with which Suter dismisses the pre-American phase of his life in these reminiscences. J. A. Sutter claimed that he "embarked in commerce—bookbinders and newspaper publishing" and that he "was associated with Weber, now publisher of the Illustrated News (German) at Leipzig." Here is epitomized the *capitano braggadocio* John A. Sutter. By twisting the literal truth ever so slightly he strives to turn his co-apprenticeship with Weber into a reputable business partnership with the famous publisher!

Judging by all known about Suter's later years, we are on safe ground in assuming that the young apprentice was not one whom the firm of Emanuel Thurneysen saw any inducement to sign on as an assistant and possible valuable associate in later years, as they did in the case of J. J. Weber. Suter's younger brother, by the way, was apprenticed to the same firm as a compositor.¹²

Having mentioned the eminent Weber, Sutter continues in his "Personal Reminiscences": "after which I entered as Cadet at Bern, Switzerland, and served in the army until I went to America in 1834." He insists that he "was officer in the Swiss Army" and that "at the same time Napoleon (III) was a refugee in Switzerland I was Captain of Artillery."

Thus, with a few fictional words, he palliates that period of his life which, apart from the years of misfortune following the gold discovery in California, was his most painful, and which to hide from the gaze of the searcher after truth he had the most profound reasons. The plain fact is that in this statement of the old Sutter there is not a breath of truth,—unless we hold on to the assumption that to become an army officer was one of his most ardent dreams and are willing to take his desire for the accomplished fact.

Suter never was an officer in the Swiss army. Even a superficial examination of the historical data would show that his account of a military career in his native country is fictitious. His very way of putting the statement is proof for the fact that he was not even theoretically acquainted with Swiss army matters. In the first line, there never was and does not exist today a military academy at Berne of which he could have been a cadet.¹³ In the second line, there was at that time *no such thing as a "Swiss Army."* The military organization of Switzerland in Suter's time was the most haphazard and loose imaginable. Each of the twenty-two little cantons maintained its own troops and there was little coöperation between them. As a citizen of a village in the Canton of Basel, Suter would, if anywhere, have been enlisted in the Basel "army." But the archives of Basel have revealed no trace of his name in any military record.¹⁴

Furthermore, service as an army officer anywhere in Switzerland was, and still is, a prerogative of the upper classes. In the 1820's and 1830's that meant the sons of the patriciates of the ruling cities. Suter, a laborer's son, politically and socially a nobody from a disfranchised rural domain, was emphatically not of this privileged class.

If further proof is needed for the impossibility of his having been an army officer, the following will serve: In a society like that of every central European state, where a "handle" to one's name is counted half one's worth, no clerk or scribe would ever risk the lese-majesty of failing to call an officer by his proper title. Even a lowly militia sergeant would, at that time, have benefited by this iron rule. But there has not been found one single document, official or unofficial, honoring him with the title "Herr Hauptmann J. A. Suter," or "Herr Leutnant," or even "Herr Wachtmeister Suter." Instead, he is referred to with pernicious constancy as simply "Herr J. A. Suter, Handelsmann [merchant]," and before that, "J. A. Suter, Handlungsdiener [store clerk]," or "Commis [office clerk]."

In the face of all this evidence, positive and negative, Sutter's euphemistic statement that he was an army officer in Switzerland, which he incorporated in what must be regarded as his last will and testament, boils down to the simple fact that he most likely, *never even wore a uniform in his native country*, not even that of a militia man.

In some of the standard works of reference the assertion still lingers on that Suter served as a captain in the Swiss Guard of Charles X of France, that he

saw service in the Spanish Campaign of 1823-24, and in the vain resistance at Grenoble by Charles X to the three-days' revolution of July 1830, and that after the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy he returned to Switzerland and served the army there. There cannot be the slightest doubt but that the author of this fable was Sutter himself, Sutter the expert self-glorifier and fabulist, he of the fascinating personality, the radiant and all-convincing enthusiast who envisaged his invented past with such liveliness as to begin to believe in his own fiction. Not until four years before his death did he find the courage to deny the truth of this story. Laconically he says in his "Personal Reminiscences" that he "never served under the French Government." A search of the official roll of Swiss officers serving under foreign potentates (carefully preserved in the military archives at Berne) has failed to yield the name of Johann August Suter.¹⁵

Having served his apprenticeship in Basel, August Suter¹⁶ found work as a clerk in a draper's shop in the little town of Aarburg and there, according to his friend Birmann, he met Anna or *Annette Dübeld*, who was to become his wife. Exactly when that happened and how long Suter stayed in Aarburg, it is impossible to ascertain officially. An entry of Suter's in the autograph album of his friend J. J. Weber,¹⁷ dated March 26, 1823, would seem to place him at Basel at that time, and probably comes pretty close to the date of his departure from there.

From Aarburg he moved to Burgdorf, in the Canton of Berne, the native town of Annette Dübeld, and there lived continuously until his departure for America. It was the conjunction of Suter's marriage to Annette, certain political events of that time, and his business experiences in his wife's native place that led to the turning point in Suter's life.

No official record exists as to the time of Suter's taking up residence in Burgdorf. The first definite information of his living there we gather from the archives of Rüenberg.¹⁸ According to the clannish and patriarchal organization of life in Switzerland before 1831, August Suter, living as he did away from the only place in the world where he was legally "entitled to a home," had to obtain the consent to his marriage of the village council of his native place. The reason for that is obvious. In the case of failure to support himself and his family, he would immediately have been deported to his native village, there to become a public charge. Against such eventualities every community tried to guard itself by exercising a sort of marriage censorship over its native sons.

In keeping with this social law, the Reverend Samuel Jäggi, Pastor of Burgdorf, testified in a letter to the village council of Rüenberg that Suter's bride-to-be was baptized¹⁹ on the 15th of September, 1805, that "from the earliest childhood on she had received the benefits of a careful education" and that she had been confirmed on May 20, 1820. The motto given her on this occasion is quoted. Also the lawyer Dr. Carl Schnell testified that

Annette's mother, the widow of Samuel Dübeld, possessed assets free of all liabilities in the amount of 20,000 Swiss francs and that she was the mother of four daughters. Frau Dübeld carried on her late husband's profitable bakery and restaurant business. Under these reassuring circumstances the village elders of Rünenberg on September 29, 1826, resolved and declared in writing that as far as they were concerned there was no obstacle in the way of a marriage between "Johann August Suter, citizen of Rünenberg, domiciled as a clerk in Burgdorf" and Anna Dübeld of said City of Burgdorf.

The archives of Burgdorf show that the marriage took place on October 24, 1826,—and that on the day following, October 25, 1826, the first child was born to the young couple.²⁰ The infant was Johann August Suter, Jr., later to become the founder of Sacramento City and U.S. Consul in Acapulco, Mexico.

J. A. Suter, Sr., was now twenty-three years old, husband, father, and shop assistant in the grocery store of Salzfaktor²¹ Aeschlimann in the Schmiedengasse, Burgdorf. How young and immature, not to say puerile, he still was, can be guessed from the fact that until this day there is preserved in that grocery store a window pane into which the young clerk J. A. Suter had scratched his important name. The circumstances of his marriage are in themselves sufficient evidence of the truth that he had taken upon himself the state of matrimony only with extreme reluctance. He waited until the very last day to save Annette and her child from impending illegitimate motherhood and birth. Although the widow Dübeld, Annette's mother, was a woman of means and gave to each of her four daughters a dowry of 2000 Swiss francs, August Suter himself had little hope of bettering his own condition. Only thirty miles from his Rünenberg he was a settler and stranger without rights, tolerated only as long as he stayed in subordinate positions, and did not become a competitor to the native business men, nor a public charge. Little Burgdorf, too, treated business, and all halfway profitable crafts, trades and professions as the exclusive privilege of her native burghers. Citizenship with its business and social advantages could not be acquired by any means, unless from such a transaction there accrued a very tangible profit for the community of native burghers. However, it is probable that in a case such as Suter's certain exceptions were made in order to keep in Burgdorf his wife's dowry and the small fortune that was to become hers upon the death of her mother.

Under such unenviable circumstances J. A. Suter lived probably until the year 1828.^{21a} Then, in 1831, the vibrations spreading all over Europe and emanating from the impact of the Paris July Revolution of 1830, led to a number of smaller revolts in Switzerland. The most vehement of these was directed against the City of Basel and resulted in the complete political independence from the city of its former rural domain. In the Canton of Berne, Burgdorf became the intellectual centre of a little bloodless revolution, whose directing brains were the Dübeld family lawyer, Dr. Carl Schnell, and his two brothers. The only outcome of this revolution that need concern us here was the return

of the freedom of trade, first proclaimed in Switzerland by the French revolutionary armies, but abolished again under the reaction following the Congress of Vienna of 1814-1815.

Now began what may fittingly be called the overture to Sutter's American tragedy, that type of overture namely which is an anticipation of all the leading motives of the opus proper. Similar outer forces and the same psychological conditions that brought about Sutter's California catastrophe can be seen at work on a miniature scale in his first independent venture in Burgdorf. These momentums were: his liberality of spirit and openhandedness, a tendency to overreach his mark, too much trust in his associates, too much leniency towards his debtors, an almost singlehanded fight against a mass of adversaries, a capacity for enjoying life developed to a far greater extent than his desire to know at the end of a day, or week, or month, whether he could strike a satisfactory balance in his ledgers or not.

After years of drudging in very subordinate positions, after having suffered the fate of one without rights politically, of one merely tolerated wherever he lived since childhood, after depending very likely in part at least on the benevolence of his in-laws at Burgdorf for the support of his family, the new and sudden elevation into equal rights with the formerly privileged proved Suter's undoing. In Burgdorf, as in California, his visionariness went far beyond his capacity of fulfilment. If the young business man Johann August Suter in Burgdorf was anything like the John A. Sutter-to-be of New Helvetia, whose urge for enterprise and schemes took the sky for the limit, he must have simply thrown himself headlong into the new opportunities and drowned himself in the unaccustomed intoxicant of sudden freedom and suffrage.

Backed by his mother-in-law, Suter established in 1828, and probably expanded in 1831, the firm of *Johann August Suter & Co.*, retailers of drygoods, doing business in the Schmiedengasse, Burgdorf. In the beginning one Bendicht Seelhofer²² was Suter's partner. He is reported to have been an irresponsible individual, whose early exit from the business was marked by a lamentable display of red ink on the young firm's books. As in California, Suter trusted too liberally in Burgdorf. Bendicht Seelhofer was the modest foreshadowing of Sutter's Californian business partners, attorneys, and land-agents who fleeced him right and left.

Presumably it was Frau Suter who stood behind the counter of the little shop most of the time, while the head of the house chose for himself the more congenial occupation of "traveling representative." What is still preserved of his business records in Burgdorf shows that Suter was extremely enterprising. Not content to sell against cash or credit to anyone who happened into his store, Suter combed the countryside, the villages and hamlets far and wide, to obtain orders from the farmers for cloth and yarns, thread and needles, buttons and ribbons, and all sorts of trimming and finery for the village belles. In dealing with the customers he is said to have been very obliging and con-

ciliatory towards dilatory debtors. But in spite of all his energy and enterprise the business would not prosper.

The worst of it was that in that part of the world Suter's enthusiasm was in every way glaringly out-of-place. Apart from a certain lack of balance in his own temperamental and mental make-up, the main obstacle which confronted him was the deep-rooted prejudice against strangers among the local folks, especially the village people in the outlying districts, upon whom his business largely depended. It must be borne in mind that Switzerland was, as it is still today, a league of nations in miniature, with scores of dialects varying tremendously within a small area. These conditions are epitomized in the fact that until this day there is, strictly speaking, no such thing as a Swiss citizenship. The Swiss is a citizen only of the village or town into which he and his forefathers were born, or where they acquired "home-rights." This is nationalism on a microcosmic scale.

To get the most vivid conception of the people among whom young Suter tried to do business, one must read the novels and stories of that pithy pioneer of realism in Nineteenth Century literature: Jeremias Gotthelf (nom de plume for Albert Bitzios). He was Suter's contemporary and the pastor of Lützel-flüh, only five miles from Burgdorf. Even today the peasants and farmers of those regions are the laughing-stock of Switzerland for their slow-wittedness and stubborn arch-conservatism. Yet each of them, a proud little lord in his own domain, sits snugly in the wealth of his fat meadows and of his stock unequalled the world over. Here was a country dotted with little kings. Can we doubt but that it was their luxuriant realms which awakened in Suter a hunger for land? Can we doubt that it was these little kingdoms he thought of when, in America, he started out on his search for a land of abundance reported to lie on the Pacific Coast? And what was the Lord of New Helvetia but an aggrandized farmer-king from the Bernese Emmental? Only there were differences! Vast ones. These Bernese farmers were tightwads *sans pareil* and tight-mouthed. They could not but regard a stranger of Suter's type with extreme suspicion. His very dialect (probably a cross between the dialects of Kanderne and of Basel) sounded outrageously outlandish to them, even if it was indigenous only thirty-five miles farther north. In the spirit, "Bärndütsch" and "Baseldütsch" lie a world apart.²³

If this gentry had supported the Revolution of 1831 against the *ancien régime* of the Bernese patriciate, they had done so only to obtain their due proportional representation in the government of the state and to open the profitable trades, crafts, and professions to their own sons. But they had in no way restituted the freedom of trade for the benefit of strangers who, with their "gift of gab" and fine manners, might cajole them into biting off their own heads. They had to be on their guard against them. It was, furthermore, an age-old tradition that a man got his supplies from the same firm who had already been a purveyor to his father and grandfather and possibly great-

grandfather. Freedom of trade or not, they were not going to give up this wise old habit. They wanted to know from whom they bought. Against the cliff of such passive resistance the frisky waves and the foam, which the new freedom of trade stirred up, broke ridiculously.²⁴

During the short life of his firm, Suter piled up an incredibly heavy debt. The house in the Schmiedengasse, which contained the store and family residence, had become his property. But already on May 10, 1832, probably in financial difficulties, Suter sold it to his mother-in-law,²⁵ reserving for himself the privilege of repurchase for a period of ten years, and the right to continue his occupancy of the premises. Two years later, on May 10, 1834, he sold the right of repurchase to one Jakob Heiniger, merchant of Burgdorf, for the sum of 1250 Swiss francs plus a present of 100 francs to each of the Suter children, Heiniger taking over all of Suter's liabilities attached to the house.

The contract with Heiniger, drawn up by Suter himself and preserved in the archives of the Rittersaal Gesellschaft of Burgdorf, is claimed to be exemplary of its kind and an eloquent witness for Suter's business ability. It was apparently his last transaction in Switzerland. He had now secretly liquidated all his assets. About the 13th or 14th of May, 1834, abandoning his huge debts, his wife and five children, the youngest of whom he never saw again,²⁶ Suter took French leave. Two weeks later he notified his wife from Le Havre that he had no intention of returning ever.

On June 9, 1834, bankruptcy proceedings were started against the fugitive, and on June 12 a warrant of arrest was issued against him by the Chief of Police at Berne. The text of the warrant in translation is as follows:²⁷

J. A. Suter, merchant, from Rünenberg, Canton of Baselland, whose last address was Burgdorf, Canton of Berne, has secretly liquidated his assets, disappeared on May 8 or 9 from his residence,²⁸ and is reported intending to go to America. He is 31, provided with a passport written in French, issued by the Clerk of the District of Burgdorf, and dated May 13th, 1834, in which America is said to be given as his destination.

Said Joh. Aug. Suter owes to the Privat Ersparnis Kasse²⁹ Sumiswald, in the District of Trachselwald of this canton, the main sum of 6000 francs in two titles and has caused this bank a total loss through the removal of his assets and his secret departure.

For which reason this due request is issued, and addressed to all Hon. Authorities of Police, to arrest, upon meeting him, and safely secure said fugitive Suter, to relieve him of all drafts, cash, and other effects which he may carry on him, and to give due notice to the authorities here, in order to enable them to start extradition proceedings against his person and to recover his assets.

Berne, June 12th, 1834.

Suter's total indebtedness, as revealed by the bankruptcy records (260 pages quarto) in the court archives of Burgdorf, amounted to 51,183 odd old Swiss francs, or about double the estate of his mother-in-law. If we consider that Suter managed to pile up this debt within the few short years of the existence of his firm, we get an estimate of the carelessness with which he, even at this early time, assumed obligations with no regard to his chance of fulfilling them.

Upon her death (January 28, 1835) soon after Suter's escape, his mother-in-law, Frau Dübeld, left what was considered a fortune of 25,241 francs. Frau Annette Suter's share of this was kept by the authorities as bond against her husband's debts. Not until Suter had finally and reluctantly satisfied all his Swiss creditors in 1862 (1) did Frau Suter's attorney, the Federal Senator Dr. Martin Birmann, succeed in making her share of her mother's estate available to her. It was, then, this money, together with the little pension Sutter drew from the State of California, which enabled the old couple after the collapse of Sutter's California empire to live in simple comfort in Washington, and from 1871 on in their own house in Lititz, Pennsylvania.

It is this writer's belief that, in trying to determine the causes of Suter's escape to America, the circumstances of his marriage and his relations to his in-laws have to be rated as a very effective momentum. There are reasons to believe that Suter's marriage, leniently stated, was not the happiest. The tempers of the two marriage partners were incompatible to a large degree, at least in their younger years. Suter was by nature kindness in person, though sanguinely irascible, also sanguinely jolly, everybody's friend and hail-fellow-well-met all the time.³⁰ Even if capable of intense efforts, he was by preference easy-going, bon-vivant, his means permitting or not. Annette Dübeld was the haughty small-town belle, of a domineering nature, imposingly good-looking in her youth, with sharp-cut features, which age, deafness, and the disappointments of her life turned into a face full of gall and grimness. Her great-grandchildren still tell stories of her phenomenal temper, which, it is said, was inherited unimpaired by her eldest son. Her temper may be partly explained by the fact that in Burgdorf she belonged to the local elite, not to say aristocracy (every village and hamlet has its own aristocracy there). By marrying Suter she disgraced her family in a double way; firstly because he was a penniless and disfranchised settler, secondly because the near-illegitimacy of her first child put a stigma upon her. Suter's delaying the marriage ceremony until the day before Annette's lying-in can scarcely have helped to sweeten her disposition towards him, much as at heart they may have loved each other.

And there was yet another factor that contrived to make worse a situation already fraught with conflict and threatening doom. Probably at the time of the founding of his own firm, Johann August Suter had his younger brother, *Jakob Friedrich*, come to Burgdorf. No doubt, he was determined to launch him, together with himself, on the road to success. Soon after, Jakob Friedrich Suter married Annette's sister, Marie Sophie Dübeld.³¹ This marriage was a complete failure. Friedrich Suter proved himself a thorough good-for-nothing, whom his wife soon divorced. He then went to Geneva, there wasted his substance and his mind in drink, and finished by being deported to his native Rünenberg as a public charge. He remained a public charge until his death³² in 1844.

Thus had Johann August Suter brought disgrace, misery, heart-breaks, and

financial loss into the Dübeld family by many means and roads. Life in Burgdorf had become intolerable for him. As to thousands and thousands of unhappy husbands, oppressed fathers of families, unsuccessful business men, frauds, and all those of special interest to the police, America remained the only way out for him.

His achievements in the New World are a matter of public record and will remain an indelible part of national history and of America's stock of semi-legendary figures. A comparison between Suter's youth in Switzerland and his California adventures shows a very surprising similarity. The scale of these two phases of his life is vastly different. But in character they are identical. Both are determined by very similar lines of ascent and apex, descent and catastrophe. In both places he started from scratch, his fascinating personality, charm and good figure being his only capital.³³ Here as there he became the victim of a strange ecstasy of growth and expansion and a craving for life and possession which he indulged without the necessary intellectual control. In California he repeated on a gigantic scale the pattern of life he had set for himself in Burgdorf. The sudden freedom of trade (which had come with the revolution of 1831 in his old country) that started him on his first reckless commercial venture, is paralleled by his abrupt coming into the possession of vast lands in California. Even Sutter's palming himself off as an ex-captain of the French and Swiss armies may have its counterpart in his early life, if Shuck's statement that Suter was the son of a Lutheran clergyman is based on information obtained in Switzerland.³⁴ In both places he fought a losing fight against a concerted mass of adversaries. In Burgdorf it was his radical enthusiasm for the new order pitched against the passive resistance of the conservative populace. In California it was he who represented the conservative element in a hopeless match against the radical invaders, the squatters and their legal captains.

Clearly there was in this rare man an innate rhythm which would have repeated itself endlessly had his vitality continued. His single-handed attempt to inflect the will of Congress according to his own bend was in a way an abortive reiteration of the old pattern,—and by a hair's breadth came near success of a sort.

Today John Augustus Sutter is still far from having received the justice due him. Those who have seen fit to write about him were either outright partisans or enemies. In the light of what the Swiss sources have revealed, it is now possible to judge him more fairly and more fully. To those who would have Sutter appear as a sort of founder-saint of the Pacific Empire State, the news contained in these pages must be unwelcome. They are to some extent a vindication of H. H. Bancroft's vituperative attitude towards Sutter. Bancroft clearly perceived the fraud and pretense that were in Sutter. Admittedly it is unpleasant to meet such human qualities in the raw in one's own walk of life. From the distance we can more easily afford to be merely amused by them.

Certainly the rise of the grocery clerk and dry-goods retailer Suter, of a petty Swiss townlet, to the altitude of the powerful lord of New Helvetia, achieved as it was largely on the strength of a fictitious military career in an invented past, is one of the most amusing pranks of history and apt to endear the man to all with a sense of humor. Say what you will, Sutter's bluffing bore the stamp of brilliance. His impersonation of his day-dream of himself as an important military man (perhaps inspired by his childhood impressions of Napoleon) had the cachet of ultimate perfection. Men born to high stations in life were deceived by it. There remain, of course, those sides of his nature which no humorous outlook can make agreeable: his financial fraud in Burgdorf and his near-pathological idiosyncrasy towards legal debts. They remain unpleasant. But beside them his decided virtues stand out all the more luminously. It is the damnable shortcoming of H. H. Bancroft and his partisans to cast aspersions even on Sutter's meritorious sides, merely because they saw his faults. Equally narrow however is the view of those who, because they are convinced of his eminent virtues and greatness, would disfigure his natural features with the pinks and powders of moral cosmetics.

"Where there is much light there is much shadow," says one of the greatest of all poets and thinkers. Such a much-light-much-shadow man was John Augustus Sutter. Was not his disinclination to pay debts more than compensated by his liberality towards those to whom he owed nothing? Just because he experienced the greatest enjoyment of his possessions in the spending and giving away of them, he could not consider the property of others as sacrosanct and untouchable. The good he did to those overland immigrants to California, the benefits which the United States and California reaped from his titanic pioneer's accomplishments, as well as the injustice he experienced at the hand of all of these, far outweigh and outshine what faults he had.

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- Schlagintweit, Robert von: Californien, Land und Leute, Cöln und Leipzig, 1871.
- Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz, Neuenburg, 1921-1934. (For the political history of Switzerland.)

NOTES

1. The spelling "Suter" is here used with reference to the man's European years, the spelling "Sutter" for the American phase of his life.
2. Still used as an appellative noun in Scotland, in the form "souter," cobbler. Other frequent German-Swiss surnames of this category are: Pfister (Lat. *pistor*), *Meister*, (*magister*), Keller (*cellarius*), Meier (*major domus*), Vogt (*advocatus*).
3. K. Gauss, *supra*.
4. *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, Vol. 6, col. 616. N. B. Since the Sixteenth Century coats of arms among peasants are very frequent.
5. Both these dates are given as the date of birth by reliable sources. The above interpretation is given by K. Gauss. February 28, given on Sutter's tombstone, is to be considered a misreading of 23.
6. Martin Birmann, who was Sutter's legal representative in Switzerland. He intended to write a Life of Sutter. For this purpose Sutter wrote his earliest version of reminiscences, which were lost in the destruction through fire of Hock Farm in 1865.
7. MS in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, here quoted after a copy in the possession of Victor A. Link, great-grandson of Sutter.
8. Sutter, "Personal Reminiscences." Birman, p. 5. *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, Vol. 6, col. 617.
9. The painters Holbein and Böcklin, and the mathematician Leonard Euler.
10. *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, Vol. 6, col. 784.
11. *Ibid.*, Vol. 7, col. 439, and *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 41, p. 311.
12. Birmann, p. 5.
13. R. von Fischer: Personal communication to the author.
14. A. Bruckner: Personal communication.
15. The search was obligingly made for the author by Dr. R. von Fischer of Berne and Herr Rudolf Bigler of Burgdorf.
16. The middle name was the one men were usually called by, everyone's first name being, as a rule, Johann.
17. E. A. Kubler, *Amerikanische Schweizer Zeitung*, Dec. 26, 1934.
18. K. Gauss, *supra*.
19. Not born on that date, as is stated on the tombstone in Lititz.
20. R. Bigler: Personal communication. *Burgdorfer Jahrbuch 1935*, p. 10. Schlagintweit, p. 219.

21. i. e. one licensed to sell salt, a government monopoly in Switzerland. Notice that even such a lowly licensed grocer is referred to by his title!

21a. R. Bigler, *Burgdorfer Jahrbuch* 1935, p. 10, says that Sutter bought the house in which he lived already on August 26, 1828. It is possible, therefore, that in a small way he was engaged in independent business before the advent of the general freedom of trade.

22. R. Bigler: Personal communication. *Burgdorfer Jahrbuch* 1935, p. 10.

23. Basel is known for its acrid wit, but its dialect appears to the rest of Switzerland so effeminate as to make it wonder how a man can ever speak it. The rural dialects of Berne are slow, stodgy, uncouth, rude, and jokesters declare them unfit for the mouth of a woman.

24. Yet there were newcomers to that region who did succeed, among them Suter's best friend, J. J. Buser. (Birmann, p. 5.)

25. R. Bigler: Personal communication. *Burgdorfer Jahrbuch* 1935, p. 10.

26. Carl Albert Maximilian Suter, b. December 26, 1833, died May 23, 1839.

27. After the "Allgemeines Signalementen Buch der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, 1834" in the State Archive of Berne. R. Bigler, personal communication. For the original German warrant see: *Burgdorfer Jahrbuch* 1935, p. 13.

28. This date cannot be correct. Suter was still in Burgdorf on May 10, as his contract with Heiniger and the date of his passport show.

29. Savings bank.

30. The names of his children's godparents tell an interesting story. In the beginning they were relatives of the parents, or old friends, but the fourth child's two godfathers are local eminences: a physician and a colonel. Even in Burgdorf Suter had the gift of making valuable acquaintances. The names and dates of birth of Sutter's children are: Johann August, born October 25, 1826. Anna Elise, born May 30, 1828. Emil Victor, born January 16, 1830. Wilhelm Alphonse, born May 15, 1832. Carl Albert Maximilian, born December 26, 1833, died May 23, 1839. For the names of their godparents see: *Burgdorfer Jahrbuch* 1935, p. 10.

31. R. Bigler.

32. Martin Birmann, p. 5.

33. Literally it remains true that he brought some capital with him to America, but it was money he had fraudulently abducted from his creditors. It was an act of despair which alone made his escape to America possible.

34. Oscar T. Shuck, *Representative and Leading Men of the Pacific*, p. 11. See also H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 124, note.

扶桑國



Ainu milking domesticated deer (see page 54) reproduced from the great Chinese Encyclopaedia.

DID THE CHINESE DISCOVER AMERICA?

*A Critical Examination of the Buddhist Priest Hui Shên's Account
of Fu Sang, and the Apochryphal Voyage of the
Chinese Navigator Hee-Li*

By DOUGLAS S. WATSON

THE POSSIBILITY that the Chinese discovered the western shores of the North American continent long before Columbus sailed from Palos in August, 1492, has intrigued sinologists for the last two and one-half centuries. Books in many languages have been written on this subject which has engaged the attention of the world's great universities and learned societies.

In 1892, Gustave Schlegel (now deceased, but at the time Professor of Chinese Language and Literature at the University of Leyden) contributed a monograph to T'oung-Pao (the most important foreign journal dealing with Chinese subjects), which, reprinted in pamphlet form, bears the title, *Fou-sang Kouo; Le Pays de Fou-sang*, from the French of which the following extracts have been translated:

"Toward the end of the last century [Eighteenth Century] the world of science was stupefied by a communication of M. De Guignes, made to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres [Paris, France], in which he announced that he had found in the ancient Chinese historians that several Buddhist priests had discovered in the fifth century of our era a country called Fou-sang and that he believed it to be none other than western America, and more specifically Mexico."

The findings of De Guignes were published in 1761 in the *Memoirs of the Academy at Paris* under the title, *Récherches sur les navigations des Chinois du côté de l'Amérique*.

"One can understand that this communication had an enormous effect," says Schlegel. "America discovered 900 years before Columbus, and by Chinese! It surpassed all belief."

The great question became: Where is this land of Fu Sang? De Guignes and his followers identified it as Mexico; others, including Schlegel, were equally positive that such was not the case, but that Fu Sang could only be the northern islands of the Japanese group inhabited by the hairy Ainu. Since the time of De Guignes the discussion has continued with interruptions, but in the minds

of today's scholars there seems to be no doubt that the opponents of the enterprising Frenchman have gained the upper hand.

The history of the controversy has more than passing interest, for it details a battle of sinologists fought on many fronts and in many countries. France, Germany, Holland, England and the United States have contributed generously to the literature which the question has brought forth.

Professor Karl Friedrich Neumann of Munich in 1841 gave new life to the De Guignes communication by publishing a memoir of some length in which he held that Fu Sang could only be Mexico.

But the celebrated German orientalist Julius Heinrich Klaproth attacked strongly the position taken by the French and German scholars, denying positively that Fu Sang could be America, without, however, giving sufficient proofs to sustain his position.

Years went by, but in 1865 there appeared an article in the *Revue archéologique*, by M. Gustave d'Eichthal, which endeavored to combat Klaproth and defend both De Guignes and Neumann.

In 1875, Charles G. Leland gave the history of the question in a little book entitled, *Fusang or the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century*. This was published by Trubner & Company, London. In this work Leland labored to confirm the results arrived at by both De Guignes and his (Leland's) old professor, Neumann.

Up to this point the basis of discussion had been confined to a proper translation of the story in the great Chinese Encyclopaedia.

In 1885, there was published in New York a weighty tome from the pen of Edward Payson Vining with the title, *An Inglorious Columbus; or Evidence that Hwui Shan and a Party of Buddhist Monks from Afghanistan Discovered America in the Fifth Century A. D.*

Vining lays stress upon the translations of his predecessors, giving their several renderings in full, but relies principally upon the distance mentioned as traveled by the Buddhists, plus the recognition by him of the tree called "fusang" in the original as being the tuna-bearing cactus so prevalent in Mexico. By means of a map he shows the route he assumes to be that traveled, and to the reader without other data his conclusions in the main seem satisfying.

Professor Schlegel says:

"This question has preoccupied me since my youth, and a note in *Notes and Queries on Japan and China* (Vol. III, p. 78) by M. Theos. Sampson served to revive my interest. I published in the same journal (Vol. IV, p. 19) a short notice on Fou-sang and I proposed to assemble and publish in this journal all notices relative to this country scattered throughout Chinese books; for it seemed to me impossible not to be able to determine where Fou-sang might be situated provided one had sufficient material.

"However, no one responded to this appeal, with the exception of M. Bretschneider in an article in the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal* (Vol. III, Oct. 1870). But this article brought forth no new document. It discussed only those on which De Guignes and Neumann had relied; a discussion which was not over serious, for it is not by poking fun at one's adversaries and ranking their authorities (the Buddhist priests) with Pere Hyacinthe as 'consummate humbugs' that a scientific question can be solved.

"No one having responded to the appeal I made in 1870 in *Notes and Queries*, I myself continued to make researches in all the Chinese works that came to my hand. It was a voyage of exploration which took much time, for notices concerning Fou-sang are to be found scattered in all sorts of books and at times in places where one would never think of searching. It is the result of these researches that I offer today to the world of science as well as the conclusion at which I have arrived."

But before we take up Professor Schlegel's determinations and his methods of reaching them, it must be noted that Bancroft, in Volume V, p. 33 *et seq.* of his *Native Races* gives De Guignes' translation of the reference to Fu Sang in the great Chinese Encyclopaedia, together with some notes. Thus it will be seen that this question has occupied the minds even of our western historians.

And our own Dr. Charles E. Chapman, in *A History of California—The Spanish Period*, New York, 1921, adds his quota to the already voluminous literature concerning the possibility of Chinese discovery of America.

Says Dr. Chapman: "A history of California that did not give some attention, therefore, to our neighbors across the sea would most assuredly be lacking in perspective. There are numerous evidences that Chinese and other Orientals visited this coast many centuries before Europeans came" (p. 22).

And again (p. 24):

"The one thing lacking to prove Chinese visits to this coast has been that of incontrovertible literary evidence. According to the *New York Tribune* of September 10, 1890, the Reverend Doctor Shaw (a missionary in China) claimed to have discovered a manuscript at Si-Ngan-Foo, China, proving that a regular trade existed between China and California in the first century of the Christian era. This assertion seems never to have been verified. Definite literary evidence does exist, however, showing that as early as the fifth century the Chinese knew of a land called Fusang, which many writers have identified with the Pacific coast of North America. The story is found in volume 231 of the great Chinese encyclopaedia. . . ."

In a note to his chapter Dr. Chapman acknowledges his debt to Vining as being "the principal basis" of his information. Vining's work, however, does not include the narrative found by the Reverend Doctor Shaw, which would appear to be Chapman's contribution to this age-long controversy.

We come now to the narrative of the famous Buddhist priest Hui Shên. It is under the dynasty of the southern Chi that in the first year of the period called Yung Yüan (A. D. 499) a shaman named Hui Shên came from Fu Sang to China. We find this in the memoirs of foreigners from the East in the annals of the dynasty of Liang (502-556 of our era).

TRANSLATION OF CHÜAN 41 OF VOLUME 231 OF THE GREAT CHINESE
ENCYCLOPAEDIA, COMPILED BY MA TUAN-LIN

Country of Fu Sang: In the first year of the period Yung Yüan of the dynasty of Chi, a shaman named Hui Shên arrived from Fu Sang at Ching Chou and recounted that Fu Sang was 20,000 li to the east of the country of Tahan, and that the country was situated to the east of China; that many trees grew there, called Fu sang, and that it was named thus for that reason; that the leaves of the Fu sang tree resembled those of the T'ung tree [*Paulownia imperialis*, according to both Hoffman and Schultes]; that the young shoots resembled those of the bamboo and are eaten by the inhabitants of the country; that its fruits are like pears [or apples] but are red; that they make cloth from the bark for their clothing, and that they likewise make of it a kind of silk; that they construct their houses of wooden planks, but that they have no walled towns; that they possess a mode of writing and make paper from the bark of the Fu sang; that they have neither arms, nor armor, nor do they make war; that as to the laws of the country they have a southern prison and a northern prison; that the lesser criminals are incarcerated in the southern prison while the greater criminals are imprisoned in the northern prison. If an amnesty is declared, pardon is granted alone to those in the southern prison, but never to those in the northern prison. On the other hand, those in the northern prison have the right to mate among themselves, but the male children borne of the union are slaves at the age of 8, and the female children are slaves at the age of 9. The criminals never leave the prison until death.

When a notable man has committed a crime, a general assembly of the kingdom is convoked and the criminal is condemned to be buried alive. They hold a feast in his presence and leave him as one already dead. Upon their departure quicklime is heaped upon him. For a crime of the first degree [i.e. the least] the guilty alone is punished; for one of second degree the punishment extends even to the children and grandchildren; but in the case of one of the third degree the punishment is visited upon individuals even to the seventh generation.

The king of the country is named I Ch'i; the first of the nobles is called Great Tui lu; those of the second rank are called Little Tui lu, and those of the third rank Na t'o sha. When the king goes out he is preceded and followed by drums and trumpets. The king changes the color of his clothes according to the year; in the years Chia I (first and second of the *denaire*—denary or ten-year cycle)

they are green, in the two years (following) Ping ting they are red; in the years Mou (Wu) Chi they are yellow; in the two years Kêng Hsin they are white, and in the two years Jên Kuei they are black.

They have cattle with very long horns on which they are able to load burdens weighing up to 20 quintals. They have chariots drawn by horses, cattle and deer. The inhabitants of the country raise deer as cattle are raised in China and they make a food-drink from the milk. They have red pears that do not rot throughout the year, and they have many grapes. This country does not produce iron but they have copper.

Neither gold nor silver is esteemed. There are no taxes or imposts imposed upon trade [as in China]. As to marriages, the suitor builds himself a house before the door of his intended, and each morning and evening sweeps and waters the ground. If, after a whole year, the woman does not accept him she sends him away; but if he pleases her the marriage is consummated. The ceremonies of the marriage are very nearly the same as in China. At the death of their parents they do not eat during seven days; when the grandfather or grandmother dies they do not eat during five days; and after the death of an older or younger brother, of an elder or younger uncle or of an elder or younger aunt they fast for three days. They erect a spirit image of the dead, before which they offer up prayer and libation morning and night. They wear no mourning clothes. When the presumptive heir mounts the throne he does not busy himself with affairs of state for three years.

In ancient times the people knew not the law of the Buddha. But in the second year of the period Ta Ming of the dynasty of the Sung [458 of our era], five bhikshu [mendicant monks] from the land of Ch'i Pin [Cophène or Kabul in Afghanistan] came to this country and there spread the sacred books and the images of the Buddhist faith and instructed the people in the ascetic life; all of which made a change in their customs.

The bracketted additions in the above translation are those of the late Professor Schlegel. Regarding the spelling of proper names, it should be noted that the rendering into English of both place- and proper names is that of the accepted spelling of today.

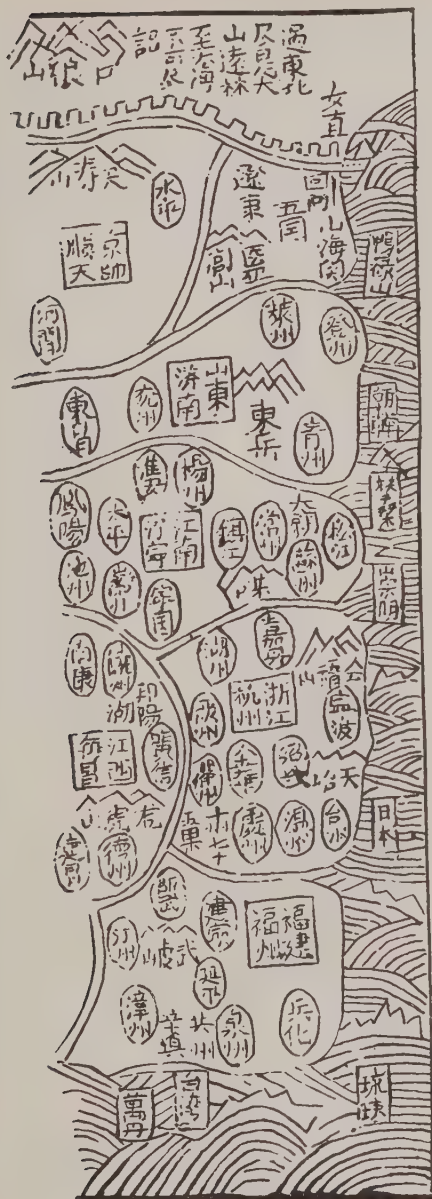
THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA SINICA

Among Orientalists the *Encyclopaedia Sinica* is considered a high authority. This work, printed by Kelley & Walsh at Shanghai in 1917, is the result of the labors of Samuel Couling, M.A., Edin., who at one time was Honorary Secretary and Editor of the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Under the heading of "Fu Sang" is the following: "A country eastward from China, 10,000 li in circumference, with a tree 20,000 feet high, whose fruit makes men immortal.

"Shih Huang-Ti fitted out an expedition of young men and maidens in 219 B.C. to seek this land. Gradually, as for example, in the records of the Sui Dynasty, it was identified with Japan. Later on, foreign writers took the old fable as proof that a Chinese Buddhist monk had discovered America a thousand years before Columbus! De Guignes originated the theory in 1764 [1761]; Klaproth showed its absurdity; Neumann raised it again in 1841, and was followed by Eichthal, Paravey and Lobscheid, and in 1875 C. G. Leland published the whole argument in a book, *Fu Sang or the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Monks in the Fifth Century*. Bretschneider the following year exposed the hollowness of the theory."

THE GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF FU SANG ACCORDING TO SCHLEGEL
 "And to begin with," says Schlegel, "Fu Sang is not a problematical country except for Europeans. For the Chinese it is not a *terra incognita*; it is supposed to be known by everyone, as is Japan, Formosa, Korea, the Lieou-kieou, or other islands which are found along the east coast of China. Japan has adopted the designation as a poetic name for its country—the *Kingdom of Fu Sang*. The Pien I Tien enumerates it among the countries that are well known. On the ancient Chinese maps [before the arrival of the Jesuits in China], and reproduced in many popular works such as Yeou-hieh Kiun-fang or School of Youth, there will be found, one after the other, a long series of volcanic islands which protect the east coast of China against the waves of the Pacific. It is true that these are not well placed, but these charts prove that the Island of Fu Sang was in no wise problematical to their makers. Beginning in the south we find first on the coast of Foukien the Island of Wan-tan, which should not be confounded with Bantam near Java, but which represents the modern Tan-tan, which corresponds either to the southern part of Siam or to the northern portion of Malacca. Then comes the Island of Thai-wan, or Formosa, and the Lieou-kieou, or Loutchou Islands. Japan, which follows, is placed on the south side of the province of Tche-kiang, facing the city of Thai-tcheou [Lat. 28° 54' 00", Long. 118° 49' 24"]. At the mouth of the Yang-tsze, the alluvial island of Tsoung-ming is located. Facing the city of Soung-kiang in Kiang-sou and Thsi-tcheou in Chan-toung, the Island of Fu Sang is situated, to the north of which Tchao-sien, or Korea, is placed. All these positions except those of Formosa and Tsoung-ming are incorrect. These maps are mentioned only to show that to the Chinese Fu Sang was as well known as Formosa, Japan, and Korea.

"Father Gaubil, in the *Journal Asiatique* (1832, Vol. X, p. 392), mentions having seen these ancient maps, and concerning them remarks: 'In these maps Fou-sang is located to the east of Lieou-khieou. To the north of the eastern portions of Japan a "Country of Women" is situated near the Japanese coast. To the northeast lies a country called Ta-han, farther west and north than Lieou-khieou. All of these countries are set down as islands. . . .'



Nü Chih

Great Wall

Liao Tung

Ya Lu Shan

Shan Tung

Chao Hsien

FU SANG

Kiang Nan

Tsung Ming

Chê Kiang

Jih Pên: Japan

Fu Kien

Lu Chu, Tai Wan, Wan Tan
(Formosa)

Reproduction of an ancient map of the east coast of China
from the monograph by Professor Gustave Schlegel.

"In the Encyclopaedia San Ts'ai T'u Hui there is an illustration which shows an Ainu of Fu Sang milking a deer, with the following explanation: 'The country of Fu Sang is to be found to the east of the country of Ta-han; the houses there are built of planks; the towns are not walled. From the time of the emperor Wu Ti of the Sung Dynasty [Hiao-wou-ti, 454-465 of our era], some men from Chi Pin [Cophène, or Kabul] visited this country. The inhabitants raise deer in the place of cows and milk them.' Thus it can be seen that the authors of this encyclopaedia made the pretension of having seen a native of Fu Sang and his domesticated deer. . . . (See illustration.)

"The geographical position of Fu Sang as being east of China is recognized by all authors, Chinese as well as Occidentals. For the Chinese it is the country where the sun rises. The distance given by Chinese authors is not to be taken literally. Chinese are prodigal with their figures, so much so that one should place little or no reliance upon them. In their descriptions of battles there are in each battle twenty thousands of men killed on both sides. If these figures were true, the population of China would have been reduced a long time since to practically nothing." Professor Schlegel here comments, "On this question we are perfectly in accord with Dr. Bretschneider and Professor De Rosny. . . .

"It is not these exaggerated distances that must be taken as a base, but the products of the country, the description of the people, and the relations they had with China or with other countries. In the first place, from the initial mention of Fu Sang to the last, all the Chinese writers speak of a tree from whose bark they made both cloth and paper in this country. In the ancient province of Chou, paper was made from flax; the inhabitants of Fou-kien made it from young bamboo; the men of the north used the bark of the mulberry. . . .

"A certain Tchinyeu, writing toward the end of the Soung Dynasty, enumerates the different kinds of paper found in China or elsewhere. Among other things he says, 'From Japan we have a paper made from pine bark. . . . *Item*: from the country of Fou-sang we have paper made from the bark of the Kih tree; at present China does not possess paper made from the bark of the mulberry.' An extract of this passage may be found in the Imperial Dictionary of K'ang Shi. . . .

"Hui Shên says that in Fu Sang are many pears and red apples, as well as grapes, and, in effect, they do grow in Karafto [the Island of Sakhalin], and in Kamchatka may be found little rose apples of the *Rosa rugosa* and the *Rosa kamschatica*, called *Mao*, which the Ainu as well as the Kamchatkans eat with avidity. In addition there is found at Yezo a grapevine, called *Yezo budo* by the Japanese, which bears black grapes. . . . Von Siebold has given it the name of *Vitis jezoensis*. The climate of Karafto [Karafuto] being milder than that of Yezo, this vine in all probability grows there too. . . .

"Hui Shên doubtless means the reindeer when he makes mention of cattle with immense horns able to carry great loads. As a matter of fact, the Orotsko

nomads transport all their movables and fishing paraphernalia while on their journeys by means of reindeer. . . .

"Hui Shên recounts that the inhabitants of Fu Sang constructed their houses of planks. . . . This likewise applies today to the Island of Krafuto. Listen to what some of our travelers have to say: 'Their houses, built near the coast on the mountainsides, and sometimes on their summits, are made of hewn planks joined one to the other, covered with the bark of trees.'"

Von Krusenstern, in the account of his voyage, gives a short description of these same habitations. He says: "We saw there small buildings, raised above the ground about the height of a man, supported on four piles and closed by doors made of pine wood."

Schlegel says that the habits and customs of the present population of Karafuto, as confirmed by all travelers, are very like those described by Hui Shên, that is, they are peaceful, do not possess arms or armor, and do not make war. Both La Pérouse and Krusenstern have expressed similar opinions.

In describing the government of Fu Sang, several ranks of officials are mentioned in the article appearing in the great Chinese Encyclopaedia. The nobles of the first rank are given the title of "Grand Tui lu," those of the second rank, "Little Tui lu," while "Na t'o sha" is the designation of the third category. Schlegel says, "Not one European or Chinese author, writing on Fu Sang, has paid the least attention to these words, and yet when one has discovered to what language they belong the solution of the problem is found. Now, these words are ancient Korean: or, at least, the same titles are found among the ancient Koreans." He then goes on to show, by means of references to various Chinese works, that what he has stated is confirmed.

"The geographical description of Fu Sang, as given by Hui Shên, has been subject in Europe to all sorts of erroneous interpretations. Hui Shên," continues Schlegel, "states that Fu Sang is situated at more than twenty thousand li from the country of Tahan, and that the country is situated to the east of China. . . . Now there were, according to ancient Chinese geographers and historians, two countries called Tahan, one situated in the east and the other in the northwest of China. . . ." Referring to the western Tahan, Schlegel says, "This Tahan was therefore situated in the country watered by the Lena and the Yenissei, near the great lake Baikal in longitude 108° E. and latitude 53° N. . . . The Island of Karafuto, being situated on the 143° E., there is a distance in a straight line of 35 degrees, which would make 8,750 li, counting 250 li to the degree as is ordinarily done. But in ancient times the li was not as great as the present li. It must be remembered also that travelers from Tahan to Fu Sang did not go in a straight line, but by passing over mountains and through valleys, and that they counted the day's journey by li. In the mountains the li is always smaller than in level country. By doubling the number

of li we attain the figure of 17,500 li, which Hui Shên speaks of as 20,000 li in round numbers."

The present length of the Chinese li, as given in Webster's Dictionary, is 705 yards, so that in terms of miles the li is equivalent to two-fifths of a mile.

Schlegel's conclusion places the country of Fu Sang on the island of Karafuto or Sakhalin. There are others who favor the island of Yezo, but as both Yezo and Sakhalin were peopled by Ainus, the description of the inhabitants of Fu Sang as given by Hui Shên fits either locality. Schlegel has been able to buttress his analysis of the internal evidences of the original story by means of other Chinese writers and by ancient maps. There is no doubt in his mind that neither the Chinese nor the Japanese, in ancient times, had any knowledge of the continent of America; and in support of this contention he cites a letter which appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1832 (Vol. X, pp. 390-92), written by Father Gaubil to M. De Guignes in 1755: "A route for a voyage by Chinese from China to California at the time marked on the map appears to me not to have the slightest foundation. . . . In the Chinese maps of Japan drawn before the coming of missionaries to China and Japan, there is no suggestion of any knowledge of America. . . . If California had been known to China in the year 459 A.D., the Chinese who since that time have written concerning foreign countries would have said something about it. I do not speak of the historians of the empire, I speak again of other writers."

Present day authorities are almost unanimous in their support of Schlegel's determinations and agree with him that Fu Sang was not the west coast of America, nor by any possibility Mexico. Berthold Laufer expresses this opinion briefly and unequivocally in his article, "Columbus and Cathay," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, for June, 1931 (Vol. 51, pp. 87 ff.).

And now let us examine the latest contribution to the question of Chinese discovery of America, namely, the narrative of Hee-Li, which Dr. Chapman has mentioned in his History of California cited above.

In this case, we shall reverse the usual process and shall analyze the internal evidence before giving the evidence itself. It would be an imposition upon the reader to detain him with a discussion after he had finished a perusal of this astounding document. Scholars have honestly differed regarding the location of Fu Sang, but there could be no possible scholarly basis for a difference of opinion regarding the narrative of Hee-Li. Even the mention of this pseudo-navigator's name brings a smile of derision, and the recital of Hee-Li's experiences also smacks of brazen impudence. It is amazing to find a sober reference to this narrative in a history otherwise living up to its scholarly pretensions. The Hee-Li narrative offers an amusing example of unfounded fact masquerading as history; and it is with the sole aim of exposing its palpable falsity as grounds for a belief that the Chinese preceded both the Norsemen and Columbus in the discovery of America that it now appears here *in extenso*.

DR. SHAW'S IMPORTANT DISCOVERY

Reprinted from the *New York Tribune* of September 10, 1890

That Columbus did not discover America seems of late to have been pretty generally established. At least, we are assured by those who favor the idea that some Norseman (name not yet fully agreed upon) did discover it that their view of the matter is rapidly gaining ground, and that all intelligent persons now regard Columbus as an impostor. Consequently, it follows that the World's Fair should not be held in 1892, but should be postponed till some anniversary of this Norse discovery, in 1934 or thereabout (exact date not altogether decided on as yet). Indeed, the more enthusiastic of the Norse advocates assure us that the Fair will be so postponed. That Chicago may be better prepared for the Fair in 1934 than in 1892 looks reasonable, but it seems probable that both dates will have to be rejected now that the important discoveries of the Rev. Dr. Shaw, the eminent missionary to China, have been made public.

It is learned from a long letter recently received in this city from Dr. Shaw that in May of this year he visited the interior Chinese city of Si-Ngan-Foo, in the Province of Shen-See, on the Upper Hoang-Ho. Here the Doctor, with the aid of a converted native from the mission station near Ta-Koo, discovered a Chinese manuscript dating back over two hundred years before Christ. In this manuscript it is proved beyond doubt that America was discovered by one Hee-Li, a Chinese navigator, in the year 217 B.C., in the reign of the great Emperor Chi-Hoang-Ti, or Ching-Wang, who has been called the Chinese Napoleon, and who first consolidated the petty kingdoms of the present empire and built the Great Wall. If this date is correct, as it almost certainly is, it follows that we have just passed a convenient anniversary of the great event (the two thousand one hundredth), which fell in 1883; therefore we must look to all true lovers of accuracy to advocate the postponing of the Fair to the year 1983, the two thousand two hundredth anniversary of the original discovery of this continent.

Dr. Shaw sends a few interesting facts, gathered from this priceless manuscript. Hee-Li was the owner and commander of a small junk employed in the coast trade. While making a trip, probably in February, 217 B.C., a great storm struck his vessel and drove it far out to sea. When the storm abated he of course desired to steer west, and again reach the coast of China. As is well known, the mariners' compass was in use by Chinese sailors even at this early day. Now, Hee-Li's junk was infested by yang-si bugs, an insect closely resembling our cockroach, and one of them had got into the compass during the storm, and become wedged under the needle, where it died, first, however, struggling around the face of the compass and carrying the needle with it, till it (the needle) pointed directly south, instead of due north, as it should have done. [The Chinese made no use of the compass at sea until the Sixth Century

A. D.; their compass points south and is known as the *South Pointing Chariot*.—D. S. W.] The intelligent insect, as we intimated, then died, still under the needle, where his body could not be seen. Consulting his compass and depending on it absolutely, Hee-Li, of course, sailed directly east. This he continued to do for three months and some days, marvelling greatly that the coast of China should so constantly recede. Once, on the twenty-fifth day, Hi-Thinc, one of the crew (may his memory perish!) suggested that they must be sailing east, as the sun constantly rose before them, and set behind them, but Hee-Li promptly threw him overboard, saying that his fathers had trusted the compass since the Chow-Chop-Suey dynasty, and it was then too late to doubt it. On what appears to have been June 10 Hee-Li landed between the 36th and 37th degrees of north latitude, probably near the present city of Monterey, California. Two days later one of the crew, while polishing up the compass, discovered and removed the dead yang-si bug, and matters became clearer to Hee-Li.

Hee-Li and his crew of ten men remained in America about three months, exploring the coast for fifty miles to the south and one hundred to the north. He speaks (part of the manuscript is his personal narrative) in high terms of the weather, thus being the first to extol the glorious climate of California. He entered the Golden Gate, and explored the Bay of San Francisco, giving it the name of Hong-Tsi, or Great Bay. He bartered with the natives, and finally started on his return to China in September, arriving there in the latter part of the year. From fragments of another manuscript found by Dr. Shaw, bearing date a hundred years later, it appears that this trade thus begun with the American natives had been kept up till that time, junks visiting the country every few months. Why this trade ever ceased, Dr. Shaw cannot conjecture. Hee-Li died in 197 B.C., twenty years after his great discovery.

Coming at such a time as this it would not seem that too great importance can be attached to the discovery of Dr. Shaw. The great question which has troubled historians for years is settled at last. Clearly it would be the height of folly to celebrate the anniversary of the simple voyage and landing of either Columbus or the Norsemen. We must celebrate the anniversary of the true discovery—that of Hee-Li. None will agree with us on this point so readily as those who have favored the Norse discovery. Absolute accuracy in all things is what should always be aimed at. Let the World's Fair be put off till 1983, and then let us all join hands and make it a grand success, and one worthy the great event which it will commemorate—the discovery of the American Continent by Hee-Li, the intrepid Chinese navigator.

"MORMONISM!"

"PLURALITY OF WIVES!"

An Especial Chapter, for the Especial Edification of certain inquisitive
News Editors, Etc.

A certain Editor in this town, (San Francisco,) in reviewing our late Spanish and English Proclamation, complains sorely of our neglect of our own countrymen, the Americans, in our religious instructions. He also enquires, with all the seeming anxiety of a penitent man at the anxious seat, as to his Excellency Gov. Young's family matters, and whether "Mormonism" allows a man more wives than one!!!

We inform him, that "*Mormonism*" is not in a corner, nor its light under a bushel, in the United States. Its books and ministry have long been within the reach of every reader in the English language. If the Americans wish information let them read the Bible, the Book of Mormon, and our other works, and seek the truth at the hand of God, and at the hand of our Apostles and Elders. And let them repent of their priestcraft, errors and folly, and humble themselves as in the dust, and learn to speak and publish the truth.

In regard to Gov. Young's family matters, we never had the curiosity to inform ourselves, although we have been a near neighbor of his for many years. This much we do know,—that his morality is above all suspicion in the circles where he is known, and we presume the number of his family does not exceed the late estimates, which have been the rounds of the American Press. At any rate his family are respectable and virtuous; and as patrons of faith and piety, and good works, they are honored in every department of society. Marriage, in nearly all countries is regulated by civil legislation, and is therefore beyond the jurisdiction of our Apostleship, or ministry. Some governments allow to each man *one* wife, some *two*, some *four*, and others as many as they can obtain and support.

Every person who reads the Bible must know that the commission is to preach the Gospel to every creature in all the world, and to baptize all who believe, and repent. The Lord, in giving this commission, made no exceptions to the exclusion of any particular family organization growing out of the varied civil institutions.

It is also known, or ought to be, that this commission, without variation has been renewed to the Latter Day Saints, and that every baptized penitent, is a member of the church in good standing, while he observes the laws of God and his country. Whether these laws legalize to him *one* wife or "*sixteen*."

Our instructions to all nations are that they believe in Jesus Christ, and repent and be baptized. And then serve God and obey the laws and civil institutions under which they live, or migrate to a country whose institutions are more congenial to their faith.

But, in all cases to be sure and love, sustain, honor, and cherish every soul of the family which the laws of God or man has given them, and to abstain forever from all unlawful intercourse between the sexes. For all unlawful intercourse of this kind is adultery, or fornication, and by the law of God is punishable with *death*.

Is it possible there is *still* in "*Christendom*," (after so many years of Mormon progress,) a *man*, or even an *EDITOR* so ignorant as to suppose that the eternal principles of the Priesthood, Ordinances and Kingdom of God, sent forth as a *Standard of Universal Restoration* for the *Tribes of Israel*, and for *all nations*, would narrow itself down to the petty prejudices, local superstitions, and narrow views of that small minority of mankind known as "*Christendom*!"

And thus exclude Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the kings, patriarchs, and prophets of old from the kingdom of God, and three quarters of the present generation of mankind from all participation in the Gospel ordinances, merely because their *family is so large*! ! !

Nay, more! The narrow, ignorant legislation of some Churches and States, would imprison, for years the Patriarch Jacob, turn his four wives, twelve sons and a daughter into the street, without father or husband, dishonored and rendered illegitimate; and then, if possible, demolish the very gates of the New Jerusalem; because the names of the sons of Jacob, by Rachel, Leah, Bilhah, and Zilpah were found engraven on the gates.

This done and the family of Israel broken up, all the good citizens, law makers, judges, and lawyers who had thus shown their indignation against "*vice*" and their zeal for "*virtue*" might by the laws of the same State, seduce and ruin as many females as they pleased, by merely paying a fine, and a certain amount of damages!

Or, in other words: so much disease, shame, dishonor, ruin, death and damnation, of our fair daughters for so much money. So much gold for so much blood!—murder! No—Editors!—this is not "*Mormonism*!"

Should the United States, or any other nation ever rise from the degradation into which a false "*Christianity*" has plunged them: should they ever ascend to the level of the heathen nations of ancient Egypt or Babylon, and like a Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, or a Cyrus, engage a Prophet or an Apostle to teach them; a Joseph or a Daniel to give them wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of God, and in the science of government,—then, "*Mormonism*" will teach their Senators wisdom and their Judges justice; and the latter day Apostles and Prophets restore to them the laws of God. As it is written by Isaiah, Chap. 2d, verses 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th.

"And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it.

And many people shall say, come ye, and let us go unto the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths, for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people, and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

O house of Jacob, come, and let us walk in the light of the Lord."

The law of God, from Zion, in the top of the mountains, when taught to the nations, will provide the means for every female to answer the end of their creation; to be protected in honor and virtue; and to become a happy wife and mother, so far as they are capacitated and inclined. While every man who stoops from his Godlike majesty to a level with the brute creation so far as to trifle with the fountain of life, (female virtue) will atone for the same with his blood.

And thus adultery, and fornication, with all their attendant train of disease, despair, shame, sorrow and death will cease from our planet, and joy, love, confidence, and all the pure kindred affections, and family endearments be cherished in every bosom of man.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL. July 13th, 1852.

P. P. PRATT.

A MORMON MISSION TO CALIFORNIA IN 1851

From the Diary of Parley Parker Pratt

Edited by REVA HOLDAWAY STANLEY AND CHARLES L. CAMP

INTRODUCTION

THE STRENGTH and resilience of the Mormon church was evident, from the beginning, in the numbers of missionaries sent out to distant parts of the world. Even during the early trials at Salt Lake arrangements were made to proselytize the South Sea Islands and the Pacific Coast of South America, to support a church in San Francisco and to organize a colony at San Bernardino.

One of the leaders in these far flung enterprises was Parley Parker Pratt, a member of the first Quorum of Twelve Apostles of the Church and one of the leading spirits of its history. Pratt assumed the leadership of the main party on the Plains in the eventful summer of 1847. To him also fell commissions of exploration for further settlements in central and southern Utah. And to him finally came the call to push on into California over the Salt Lake trail with the first colonizing party bound for the San Bernardino Valley. The events of this Mission are described in the following diary, transcribed by Mrs. Reva Holdaway Stanley, of Oakland, from the original journal now in her possession. Parts of this account have been previously published in Parley P. Pratt's Autobiography (New York: Russell Brothers, 1874, reissued, Chicago, 1888).

Parley Pratt was now in his early forties, a man of handsome physique—tall and dark, with curly brown hair—genial and most appealing to the fair sex. He was a leader of men and a trusted confederate of Brigham Young. Undoubtedly sincere was his belief in the divinity and truth of the Mormon religion.

Behind him was a history of adventure, persecution, malice—victory. One of the first believers, he was baptized and ordained an elder before the first Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints had reached the age of six months.

He was in the group of Mormons who were violently driven out of Missouri in 1831. Again in 1838, he was among the Mormon targets of the Missouri marksmen. This time he was imprisoned without trial, for eight months. He escaped and immediately published a history of the persecution, written during his imprisonment.

Going to England, he started the publication of the periodical, *The Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star*, and was appointed president of the British Conferences. When he returned to the United States he was made president of all the churches in New England and the Middle States. He returned in time for his third experience with a ruthless mob. This was the Nauvoo persecution, which robbed him of all material property.

In 1847, he was among the first of the Mormons to reach the Great Salt Lake Valley. Here he assisted in forming the Constitution for the Provisional Government of Deseret. He was also elected a member of the Senate in the General Assembly.

With this varied pattern of adventure and achievement behind him, he started, with high ambitions and hopes, on his Pacific mission in the spring of 1851. Ahead of him lie but six years—six years of travel, work and progress including a second mission to San Francisco, in 1854. Then, in 1857, the final boundary is reached—a violent death, at the hand of Hector McLean. This event led directly to the Mountain Meadows Massacre.

At the start of the Pacific mission, Pratt's exuberance is indicated by the fact that he "composed a song which was sung before the congregation in the Tabernacle, on the occasion of our departure on this mission, commencing, 'Holy, happy, pure and free'." Also something of his enthusiasm may be gathered from the fact that he took with him two of his several wives, to share the extreme hardships of the journey across the desert; one even went with him into South America.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

BOOK FIRST

COMMENCING THE PACIFIC MISSION, 1851

March 16th. Left G. S. L. City for the Pacific, on a mission to its islands and coasts; being commissioned and set apart for that work by the first presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints.

Passing through various settlements and visiting the brethren I arrived at Fort Utaw [Provo] and assisted the Presidency to organize a stake of Zion with its High Council and other officers, and to ordain and set them apart.

My son Parley and Belinda and many of my wives accompanied me on my way in a carriage as far as this place.

Thursday, 20th. Sent my waggons on, and returned with the carriage to Battle Crick.¹ Tarried one night, preached and was kindly received.

Friday, 21st. Took leave of my son and my 2 wives B. and M. and com-

1. Runs through the present town of Pleasant Grove on the northeast side of Utah Lake. The old town of Battle Creek is two miles west of Pleasant Grove.

mending them to the Lord pursued my journey on horseback 28 miles to Pateatneat [Payson] where I overtook my teams and spent Saturday and Sunday in organising the carrivan with which we journied, consisting of near 150 waggons most of which were emigrating in co. with C. C. Rich and A. Liman to Southern Cal.

My own party of missionaries consisted of 2 of my wives, viz. Elizabeth and Phebe and 8 other missionaries, viz: John Murdock, Rufus Allen, Wm. Purkins, Mr. [S.] Woodbury, F. A. Hammond, P. B. Wood, Mr. Hopkins and Morris Miner. Mr. Hammond and Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Pirkkins, and Mr. Woodbury were accompanied by a wife each and the two first had each an infant.

Monday 24th. Commenced our journey from Pateatneat, organised in companies of 10, 50, and 100, 50 journeying together. Our 50 commanded by Capt. Sely traveled 6 m.s. to Summit Crick [York].

Tuesday 25th. I took a walk in the morning about 3 m.s. and back to camp. Assended a beautiful height which afforded a fine view with a telescope of the head of Utaw Lake and the valey of Salt Crick which enters the Lake through an extensive madow at the head [south end] of the Lake forming at its junction a beautiful harbour and a convenient Beach of Land, the depth of water not known but its deep blue coulour intimated sufficient depth for small craft.

About 2 miles west of an encampment on Summit Crick I discovered a beautiful and inexhaustible stone quarry of bleue Lime. Which both for building and lime will be very useful and convenient to the settlement which will soon grow up on that beautiful cite. Returning to camp we journied 11 m.s. to Willow Crick [near Mona], the country being rich in grass and watered by Salt Crick a Stream $1\frac{1}{2}$ rods wide runing north to Utaw Lake and several large springs.

Wednesday 26th. Journied 11 m.s. and encamped on Salt Crick [near Nephi] after crossing it at its southernmost extremity several m.s. below where it breaks from the kenyon. Today I rode on horseback through the central portions of a large tract of land fit for the plow being a rich soil, rather sandy and laying handy for irigation by the waters of Salt Crick. There is near 20,000 acres in one body which can be tilled to great advantage. While the hills, valies, and table lands afford some cedar fewel, and vast resources for pasturage.

Thursday, 27th. Traveled 15 m.s. over a smooth swell of land without water but bordered by beautiful hills of bunch grass and cedar fewel, and encamped on a spring run, which gives rise to a swail, or swampy meadow, and at its crossing is myry and bad, and at length becomes a stream of some sise and enters the Severe River in a southwesterly direction [Chicken Creek, near Juab].

Friday, 28th. I assended a ridge of mountain and obtained a view of an extensive country to the west, composed of dessart plains, hills, and confused

fragments of broken mountain, chains, without fertility or anything to redeem or enliven the landscape except the windings of the Severe River and its narrow grassy bottoms, and even this scene soon loses itself amid the black and barren hills of the dreary waste. This day we passed through about 10 m.s. of waste country, with some grassy spots and Cedar Groves and encamped on the Severe R. [at Sevier Bridge].

Saturday 29th. Passed the ford, 3 feet deep and 150 feet wide, a smooth and sluggish current and encamped on its southern bank.

The weather bad with squalls of snow and cold winds. The hills afford some scattered bunch grass which is very good.

Sunday 30th. Camp rested, or washed their cloths. Prayer meeting at 3 p.m. Verry windy and but few attended.

Monday 31st. Travelled 13 m.s. through a pass where the hills were verry rich in grass and fewel and full of fine stone quarries. This pass was 5 m.s. from the river. Thence through a valley [near Scipio] rich in grass and soil. Beautiful and extensive and abundantly supplied with fewel on its borders, but destitute of living streams although the melting snows of its bordering mts. supply some streams which run a short distance at certain seasons of the year and sink.

April 1st. Tuesday. Company divided for convenience of travel and Gen. Rich and myself with 23 waggons traveled 13 miles and encamped at a beautiful spring brook [Holden] among grassy hills interspersed with cedar like an orchard. Our road today led through a pass in the mountains by a gradual ascent of about 3 m.s. and then down verry gradually for 10 miles. Among hills, plains and little vales, more rich in bunch grass and cedar fewel and more varied and beautiful than any other country I ever beheld in the State or in these mountain countries. Every high hill, every dell, every vale or knook seemed thickly coated with a living green of rich grass and set about with cedars from 12 to 25 feet high like an old orchard. Its northern bounds limited by a rocky and barren range of high mountains [Cañon Mountains] through which we had passed. Its eastern limits was the snowy and timbered range of the Great Wasach Range [Pavant Range] which divides between the valley where we were and the Severe River which heads in the south near the rim of the Great Basin in a beautiful Salmon Trout Lake [Panguitch Lake], surrounded with lofty pines and cedars and runs in a northerly direction till it sweeps round to the west and southwest and forms a lake [Sevier Lake] which is in view from our camp today, and appears like a silver myrror at some 30 to 40 m.s. distant west of our encampment.

Wennesday, April 2d. This day we rest. I arose in the morning and with my large telescope viewed from an eminence the vast country before me. On the east the high mountain chain [Pavant Range] at several m.s. dis. appears snowy and timbered and pierced with gorges accessible for roads to be made to the timber and giving rise to several streams which meander through the vast

valle on our south and west and enter the Lake or sink in their own rich alluvial. To our South, West and North west the view is Almost Boundless, Consisting of a vast valley [the Sevier Desert] interspersed with fertile meadows, desert spots, known by their darker hew, lakes, rivulets distinguished by the yellow meadow grasses and red willow streaks and hills here and there, dotted with cedars and the whole bounded in the vast and dim distance by dark mountains, not verry high. Beyond which at the distance of perhaps a hundred m.s. appers other and more lofty peaks white with snow and looming up like distant white clouds on the horison. There are resources for farming, stock raising, fewel, etc., in site of our present encampment probably more than sufficient to sustain the present population of Rhode Island and yet not a domestic animal, except those the passing travelor, or a human being save the occasional savage in his wanderings, occupies any portion of the same.

Crossing Several Streams [probably Chalk Creek and Corn Creek], in the same large valley, all bordered by rich lands, we at length left the valley and journeyed 26 m.s. over a hilly country well supplied with cedar and scrub pines, for fewel and bunch grass for feed, but not well watered. Thence a few miles over a worthless country to the Beaver River. This is a large stream, swift and clear, running in several branches [Indian Creek, North Creek] through a large and fertile bottom, the soil of which appears rich, but highly impregnated with saleratus and the table lands which surround it barren, or nearly destitute of pasturage. However, I think the place worthy of settlement, and probably containing 8 or 10,000 acres of land which may be watered and cultivated [near the present town of Beaver].

Leaving this place, we passed another long streak of upland destitute of all resources, except grass and fewel, which was abundant in places. We were at length met by G. A. Smith and others from Little Salt Lake Settlement, and accompanied by them we all arrived on Red Crick in said [Parowan] valley. Here the camp found water and grass to refresh, after so wearisome a journey.

Same evening, April 10th, I arrived in the fort accompanied by the citizens who came out to meet us. I found the inhabitants all well and the settlement in a truely flourishing condition, hundreds of acres of grain had been sown, gardens planted, etc., and the farming land nearly enclosed, together with a most substantial saw mill built and many houses of wood and of sun dried brick, built and in progress. Building materials, consisting of timber of the finest quality, viz. : pine, fir, and cedar, together with good building stone and brick were scatered in profusion in every direction. Water ditches were flowing for mill and iragation purposes in many directions. Mechanick shops were in operation, such as joiners, carpenters, mill rights, coopers and blacksmiths, shoemakers, etc. All this was the work of 2 or 3 months in winter and early spring, not to mention a large enclosure of pickets in the center of the fort, a council house of hewn timber and a large bastion of the same material. The number of men composing the settlement and performing all these works did

not exceed 120 all told, including old men, boys and indian servants, just being tamed and innitiated in the first rudiments of industry.

Friday, April 11th. All the camp moved from Red Crick and encamped near the fort where we tarried till Monday.

Saturday, 12th. Celebrated my birthday by a feast jointly provided by us and George A. Smith at his house, 10 or 12 persons sat down to a sumptuous repast.

Sunday, 13th. Camps and citizens all joined in a meeting in the open air where prayers and songs of praise were offered to our father in heaven and his son Jesus Christ, and G. A. Smith, C. C. Rich and myself addressed the congregation.

Monday, 14th. Removed to Summit Crick [the present town of Summit], distance 7 m.s. Here we found good water, fewel and grass and tarried one week in course of which the rear camps, headed by A. Liman arrived in good condition.

Sunday 20th April. All met in a general assembly to worship God and to edify one another, being joined by the people from the fort. We had a good time, the Spirit was poured out upon us. G. A. S. and others spoke with power in the Spirit and testimony of Jesus, rebuking iniquity, worldly mindedness, unbelief, profanity and all manner of iniquity, and exhorting the people to obey the servants of the Lord in all righteousness. As the meeting was about to close, P. B. Lewis, who lived in this settlement was solemnly set apart by prayer, prophecy, and the Laying on of the hands of the 4 of the Apostles present, as one of the Pacific Mission. He had already moved into camp with his wife and team, etc., to accompany us.

Monday 21st. Traveled 8 m.s. to a stream called the Cottonwood, encamped [on Coal Creek], and built a bridge across the deep and narrow channel, about 4 feet wide, and tarried here next day for the remainder of our company, some of whom had failed to obtain their animals the day before.

This encampment was about 10 m.s. below the crossing of the same stream on the old road, as I had looked out a new route which would save some 8 or 10 m.s.

This stream forms a rich meadow bottom of about 15 m.s. long and 2 broad, which, when the water can be taken out above, and used up on the dry Land will be dreaned and make verry fine farms. The stream terminates in a lake a few miles north of our encampment. Abundance of cedar fewel, and rich pasturage is found on the table lands which border this bottom, and iron oer abounds a few miles to the southwest, not to mention a large cottonwood grove in the upper part of the meadow and a kenyon opening into the mountains from which the stream issues, which is probably well supplied with pine and other building timber. Taken all together this place combines materials for a large settlement [the present Cedar City].

Wennesday, 23d. Traveled 20 m.s. without water, over hills and plains and

among forests of cedar and encamped after dark at a spring [Antelope springs], having regained the old road a few m.s. before encamping.

Thursday, 24th. While the cattle were feeding, I assended an eminence and with my telescope viewed the largest valley [Escalante Desert] I had ever seen in the Great Basin. It might have been 70 m.s. from south to north and 30 m.s. from east to west. Some signs of water and rich and fertile spots appeared in the dim distance, but generally speaking it was a cheerless monotony without water, and clothed in the leden hew of the desert, the soil, however, is fertile, its growth would sustain much cattle, if wells were dug to water them. Its bordering tables were clothed in bunch grass and other nutritious substances, as well as with sage. And in my opinion the whole vast valley and its surrounding tables might be made to produce small crops of rye, barley and California wheat, without irrigation. If so and good wells could be dug, it might yet support a dense population.

This day we continued to journey southward along the eastern borders of said valley and encamped on a small stream [Pinto Creek], with some small rich bottoms, good feed and cedar fewel, on the surrounding mountains, or hills [Iron Mountains]. Up the kenyon of this stream iron stone of the richest quality abounds.

Friday, 25th. Traveled several miles over a fine table land on east of said valley which still stretched away some thirty m.s. to the west and was finally bounded by a low range of mts. on its south and west and these again were backed by a still higher range and white with snow [Highland Mountains], their lofty peaks at 50 or 60 m.s. distant peering up from behind the nearest hills like distant clouds on the far off horizon.

Today I saw in the southwest corner of this great valley by the aid of a telescope, a portion of a lake, or what appeared to be such in the dim distance. Its main body seemed to be hid by an intervening range of low hills. It may perhaps be 10 or 15 m.s. in length from north to south [Escalante Dry Lake].

Today after passing a few m.s. of very hilly road we came down upon a small stream which heads in newmerous spring meadows [Mountain Meadows] near the rim of the basin on the divide between it and the Colorado. Here we camped, to rest over Saterdag and Sunday.

This little mountain paradise was by the presant road, 311 m.s. from G.S.L. City and was all together the most beautiful place in all the rout. Some 1000 or 1500 acres of bottom or meadow lands were spread out before us like a green carpet, richly clothed with a variety of grasses, and possessing a soil, both black, rich and quick, being a mixture of sand, gravel and clayey loam and the decayed vegetation of ages. It was everywhere moistened with springs and would produce potatoes, vegetables and the English grains in abundance, without watering. The surrounding hills were not abrupt, but rounded off, in a variety of beauteous landscapes and everywhere richly clothed with the choicest kind of bunch grass, and bordered in their higher eminances with

cedar and nut pine sufficient for fewel. Afar off, behind the hills in the east could be seen from the eminances, high snowy mountains, blacked in places with tall timber, plainly distinguishable with the telescope, probably at 10 to 20 m.s. distance. [Pine Valley Mountains.]

The valley lays high, and to cold for Indian corn. But a more desirable place for stock, and wheat raising is seldom seen. It is in latitude 37 degrees and 30 minutes north. A sweet and healthy mountain air seems to pervade this little oasis. Snow prevails in winter but not very deep nor of long continuance. It is about 400 m.s. from a sea port and commands the only waggon pass from the Pacific to G.S.L. City on the southern rout. It might easily be stocked from southern California or Sonora and would be a great place of trade on the road.

Tuesday, May 13th. We are now encamped at a large spring usually called the Vegas [Las Vegas, Nevada], having traveled near 200 m.s. since the foregoing was written. The country through which we have passed is a worthless dessart, consisting of mountains of naked rock and barren plains, with the exception of here and there a small stream with feed sufficient for our cattle. The longest distance without water is about 53 m.s. which we passed on Saturday and Sunday last, and arrived here safe and without much suffering and have as yet lost no cattle, through hunger, thirst or fatigue. 2 cows were stolen from us by the Indians on the Rio Virgin.

The place where we now are is about 250 m.s. from the Coast settlements on the Pacific. It is well watered, abundance of grass, and would admit of a small settlement, say 1 or 2 hundred families, which would possess a good soil, good water, and fewel, but no building timber. The same remarks would apply to the last stream 53 miles from this, called the Muddy. The Indians already raise wheat and corn there.

Wednesday, May 21st. We are now encamped at a place called Resting Springs [Inyo County, California; the "Agua de Hernández" of Frémont]. Where we arrived on the 19th after dark. This is a fine place for rest and recrutng Animals, being a meadow of rich grass, and sufficiently extensive to sustain thousands of cattle. The water is sufficient for all traveling purposes, although the stream is small. Since Leaving the vegas we have traveled 75 m.s. through a most horrible desart. Consisting of mountains Ridges and plains of Naked Rock, or Sand and Gravel and Sometimes Clay, destitute of Soil or fertility. We found, however, a few exceptions of small springs and patches of grass and one range of mountains afforded extensive forests of scrub pine and cedar, and tall timber is said to exist among them. One portion of this range [Spring Mountains] was whitened with snow which fell while we were passing in Sight. It rained on us, and hailed and Snowed in our Sight.

The weather, contrary to our expectations has been universally cool since we left the Muddy. Say, 2 weeks thick vests and sometimes coats have been worn, in the noon of a sunny day and the Sun has been sought rather than the Shade. The nights have all been cool and some of them as cold in the

Middle or Latter part of May, as the nights usually are in March and April at G.S.L. city. I record this fact Because the desert has been represented as very hot and sandy, and therefore impassable in Summer. This is all a fable. The climate is probably cooler in summer than that of Boston, Mass. And we have reason to believe that the whole country between the R. Virgin and the Cahoon pass into the Coast vallies is high in altitude, probably as high as G.S.L. City. 20 m.s. from the "*vegas*" [at Goodsprings] our camp was assailed in the evening about 10 o'clock by a shower of arrows from the Savage mountain Robbers, some of which passed near mens heads, and all fell promiscuously among men, women, children and cattle but did no Injury. Our men mustered and returned the fire, but without effect. Afterwards in the same place. A savage single handed made his way among the Cattle in open day while they were under the care of armed herdsmen and shot an ox and a mule. One was wounded in the hip and the other in the leg, but they are both doing well.

On Tuesday, the 20th inst. Morris Miner, expressed dissatisfaction toward me and most of the company who are appointed to the pacific Mission, had a falt finding Spirit, and requested to be released from the Mission and remain a member of the Church. I called a Council consisting of Br. John Murdock and C. C. Rich and myself. Who after hearing Br. Miner and reproving and instructing him, gave him Leave to Resign his papers of Recomendation and appointment to the Mission and remain at the settlement under the presidency of Brs. Rich and Liman as a member of the church.

This morning, 21st, He delivered to me said papers, and took leave of our camp in company with a set of packers, some on horseback and some on foot which were leaving us in order to hasten their journey. They were mostly, profane and wicked unprincipled men who were enemies to the truth and to those who teach and practice the truth.

Thursday 22nd May. Left R. Springs and traveled 7 m.s. Found Good Water and feed [China Ranch].

Friday 23rd. filled with water and hay, cut with knives and an[swe]red for the purpose. We traveled on 14 m.s. Road heavy up hill and sandy. Day, hot.

Arrived at Salt Spring Gold M. [at the southeast end of Death Valley] toward eve. Water Bracish but answered for Stock and use. Here we found extensive excavations. Much work had been done, and two men were in possession and were doing well. Here we obtained News papers as Late as 4th April, and learned a little of the State of the world from Which we had received no Inteligence for the Last 8 months.

After resting a few hours we started on in the evening, and traveled all night with the exception of Short Intervalls of rest. The hot day and heavy road had so worried the Cattle that we made but Little progress. Next morning we continued to travel, finding no grass or water. The road was up hill for 10 or 12 m.s. and rough [Avawatz Mountains], the day rather cool. Long before night

all our hay and water was consumed and the Camp in a suffering Condition. Some cattle had given out entirely and 15 or 20 miles still intervened between us and Water, and without grass sufficient to feed a goat. 6 or 8 m.s. of the way was Still up hill. This was the most trying time of all. At dark about 14 m.s. from water our ten was behind, and my 2 Waggons were the rear of all and My Oxen a portion of them had already failed. We still rolled, slowly, resting every few Minutes. We soon found the different portions of the Camp ahead halted and Lost in Slumber, every Man and Beast by common consent sunk in profound Slumber, and dreaming of Water and feed ahead. We; that is our 10 with some exceptions, Sliped quietly past them, and resting often and a few minutes at a time continued to roll. The night was cool and a Myraculous Strength seemed to inspire the Cattle.

At sunrise next morning we arrived to the Bitter Springs [at southeast end of Bitter Lake, San Bernardino County], the Water of which was about as palatable as a dose of Salts. The other camps followed us in, and by 10 o'clock all Were in, except 3 Cattle Left by the way, and 2 waggons with their Loads left 20 m.s. back. Men and Animals were so exhausted that after digging and improving the water and a general watering it was 10 hours, or more before the cattle were driven to what Little feed there was, a mile or 2 distant. We arrived on Sunday morning, and have continued here till Tuesday noon. I rode back 10 m.s. and carryed water and feed to two Animals and tried in vain to drive them in, they Were Left to perish within 7 m.s. of camp.

In this Desert we had traveled Without much intermission 2 days and 2 nights, during which we had no feed or water except that which we carried with us and the Salt Springs, and the Bitter Springs and a little dry feed to refresh upon after this toil. Women and children, young and old, and old men walked on foot day and night. It was certainly the hardest times I ever saw. But we Cried unto God, and in the name of Jesus Christ asked him to strengthen us and teams, and he did so in Myraculous manner and we are saved from the Horrors of the desert. And I justly ascribe the Glory to him.

Tuesday 27th. Left Bitter Springs at 4 p.m. Traveled through the night, except 3 hours, and all Next day.

Wens, 28th. Arrived on the Mohave R. at evening [east of Daggett] in an exhausted condition haveing traveled 31 m.s. Without Water or much rest. The day had been Warm, and Some 2 or 3 Cattle gave out, and were Left by the Way.

At this camp We found plenty of Water, timber, Soil and grass, the Bottoms being 1 m. Wide, and Richly Clothed in Cottonwood, Muskeet, Willows, Grapevines and a variety of Rich Grasses. The stream did not run, but was sunk in the sand except in places. Several dry Channels were seen, Where at Certain Seasons much Water had run. Here we rested and refreshed our Animals for 2 or 3 days.

Saturday, May 31st. Those Appointed to the Pacific Mission, (with the

exception of Br. Hopkins, who said he should not fill the Mission) Now took leave of Br. Rich and Com[pany] and traveled 12 m.s. up the Mohave, and encamped in a pleasant place of Water, feed and fewel [near Barstow].

Sunday, June 1st. Rested, and at 2 O'Clock had a Prayer Meeting in the Shade of Some trees All the Members of the Mission offered themselves in Prayer, Acknowledging their falts and imperfections, seeking the Remission of the Same, Renewing their Covenants with God, and with each other and giving thanks to Him for deliverence from the perils of the desart, and praying that God would graciously open the way for the further prosicution of the appointed Mission, all Seemed renewed in Spirit, faith and union, and felt Blessed of the Lord.

Monday, June 2. Br. Wood and myself left the Waggon to follow and rode on, forty m.s. Encamped on the Mohave [near Victorville].

Tuesday 3rd. Rode upwards of 40 Miles and encamped in Sicamore Grove, in the Borders of a firtile valley [San Bernardino Valley].

Wennesday 4th. Rode 13 m.s. and arrived at a farm house, Inhabited by a frenchman [Louis Robidoux] and his Spanish Wife, Children and Indian Servants. Here we obtained a breakfast of Bread, Wine, etc, for 50 cts each.

From this man we learned of the Burning of Francisco city, and Stockton, with the Loss of many Lives, and many Milions of Merchadise. Also a Great Earthquake in Chile, and the Blockade by the french of the Sandwich Islands, and that the Indians in the naborehood where we then were had fell upon and killed a Band of American Robbers Who were Infesting the Country and Commiting depredations, Openly boasting of the same, and biding defiance to the officers of the Law. The Band consisted of about a dozen, Well armed, and were attacked and all Killed by Bows and arrows, Lances, etc. the Loss on the part of the Indians was, one Killed and 2 or 3 wounded. The whole Country seemed in a State of Commotion, Robbery Murder, and other Crimes were frequent, and it is said that Bribery and Corruption on the part of those who Stood to administer the Law was of So freequent Occurrence that there was no prospect of Justice or protection to the citizens. All hearts were fearful and no one felt safe in person or property.

Such in substance was the Outlines of the first news, as we reached the settlements after being 7 Months with out news from the world, and near 2 months in the desart, without Seing any human abode, or Cultivation. O how we then appreciated Our Own quiet Mountain home, the Beahive, the incomparably quiet and peacable deseret.

After Breakfast we rode on 12 m.s. and arrived at the Residence, of Colonel Williams. Here we found a fine farm which had wheat and Other grain, Gardens, and even bearing fruit trees, etc. We also found a Member of Our Society by the name of Chrisman who with his family resided on the place. We were kindly Received, and after resting a day, obtained a team and Br Wood went to Los Angeles 30 m.s. to obtain supplies to send back.

Saturday, 7th June. Started Back with a load of Supplies at noon. Found our Waggon at the french farm, 12 m.

Sunday 8th. Sent a load of supplies to the Companies on the Mohave R. and then Moved the Camp to Br Chrismans Where we arrived on Sunday noon and were received with welcome, and all rejoiced that Our desart, and Toilsome Journey was at an end.

Monday 9th rested and visited the gardens, and Orchards.

Tuesday, 10th Gathered, Branded and Sold My Cattle, in the afternoon Brs Rich and Liman Arived, all well, and Reported the Camps all doing well, and progressing with safety.

Sunday 15th June. Having Rested the past week Every man who was with me as a fellow missionary accompanied me to the Lone hills about 1 m. from Camp Where in solitude we joined in prayer with all the energy we possessed each praying in turn, and asking Our Father in Heaven in the name of Jesus Christ to Open our Way—to guide us in wisdom in Our duties, to give us the gift of the Holy ghost and to Supply us with means to proseed on our Journey in his own way and in his own time. We also remembered our families before the Lord, and all the authorities and Interests of the Kingdom of God.

Monday 16th. Selling some of Our Cattle and one Waggon we Journied 17 m.s. and encamped on a small Stream near some hills of Wild Oats which served us for feed. We also pulled several bundles, to fill our beds and to take with us to Los Angeles Where we arrived on Tuesday eve, distance from Br. Chrismans 30 m.s.

Several Americans called on us. Conversed in a friendly manner, seemed much interested in the Mormon Settlement about to be made, more particularly as to the additional security this additional population would afford to the peace and order of a distracted country.

Wennesday. Made several calls and was every where treated with much respect and attention. Los Angeles is a firtile, Well Watered and delightful valley of vineyards and Orchards, With a fine old Spanish Town, a mixture of American, European, Spanish and Indian population, and has been Cultivated for 80 years

Thursday 19th June. [At]tended the Catholic Celebration of "*Corpus Christi*," and witnessed, perhaps 500 people of all ages, sexes and collours, the Indian Blood prevailing. 3 priests at their head perform the various ceremonies, the Ladies in the finest dresses I ever beheld in any Country, Consisting of Silk, and Sattin of various figures and extreme costliness, White musling, Cambrick, etc. Made in full dresses, together With costly Silk and Sattin Shawls Worn over the head, and enclosing the Sholders, bosom, and waist, Leaving only the face in view. While all other portions of their persons were buried beneath the ample folds of Costliness.

In these costly Robes Every female kneeled or sat on the filthy floor of Earth in the old Church, for hours. No seats, Carpets or Spreads of any kind. While

various images were exhibited in turn and were worshiped in humble posture and Low chants [?] amid the discharge of cannon and crackers, the Beating of drums and the tinkling of bells.

Clouds of Incense rose before Each Image, and perhaps a 100 Candles were burning at midday. All the men were also dressed in their best, and kneeled in a devout manner, or stood in a reverent posture, With hats off. Not one changed place, or was seen to Leave the Church, though the services Lasted for hours, without any Seats, or Other convenience where on to rest. This ended, all formed [a] procession, and Mooved around the public square, beneath beautiful arches, Rich embroadered Banrs[?], and the Walk Lined on each Side with Green Branches.

At proper distances Were placed Images amid costly decorations, to Which all fell upon their knees, and remained for a length of time, Prostrated in the thick dust With all their finery, Chanting hymns, praying and worshipping. While crackers were discharged in profusion. Even all the Spectators must stand in the Broiling Sun with heads uncovered or give great offence.

Friday 20th. We have this morning Completed the sale of all our Waggon except the two belonging to me, and various kinds of property. The lowest price paid for a waggon to us is Sixty dollars. The cattle are nearly all sold, also my horse[,] Saddle and Bridle. Thus the Lord is daily answering our prayers and opening our way.

Baptized and Confirmed at the waters edge at Los Angeles, June 26th, 1851, James Warren. Born London, July 24th, 1814.

Sunday, June 22d. This day in camp at L. Angelos. Held a public meeting for prayer, singing and preaching. Several of the citizens attended. Enjoyed ourselves well.

Monday, 23. Instructed an intelligent Gentleman from Connaticut, Who Received the word with Joy, obtained a book of Mormon, and Started for the States rejoicing. Received a visit from an intelligent Lady, belonging to the Church, Mrs. Foster Who had been for many years away from the boddy of the Church, and married to an unbelieving husband; but Who still retained the Spirit of the Gospel and desired to enjoy society and to be gathered with the Saints.

Tuesday, 24th, made and Received some visits, preached the gospel etc. This day Br. Wood Returned from the Rear Camps, Where he and Allen had been with provisions. Reported all Well and prosperous. Bros. Liman and Rich also paid us a visit, and Some others.

Thusday, 26th. Br. Allen arrived with the Oxen and Waggon, All well. This day, taught the Gospel to James Warren, from London, and Baptised him.

Friday 27th. Sold a waggon for 55 dollars, also sold various Little articles.

Satterday, 28. Brs. Hammond, Pirkins, Wood and Murdock with their baggage, etc, Started for the Landing at San Pedro, as an Empty waggon Was going and would carry them cheap, the remainder tarried to complete our sales

and because Br. Luis' Child is very sick and cannot be removed with safety.

Sunday 29th, preached in the Coarthouse in Los Angelos, to Some forty attentive hearers [?], Mostly American Gentlemen. Visited Sister Foster and Laid hands on her infant and blessed according to the Commandment, taught Sister Foster, in many things. She was melted into tears and Expressed great desires to be saved and to save her husband and Children.

Same Evening visited Mr Granger, formerly a Baptist preacher, accompanied by My Wife and Sister [He probably called one wife as such and the other he presented as his sister.] took supper with them, and taught them the gospel, and the word [?] of the Book of Mormon and the restoration of the Apostleship. They were much interested and seemed to rejoice.

Monday June 30th Sold My Last Waggon for 50 dol[lars] and Our 2 last yoke of Oxen for 50 each. This morn Br Luises Child died and Was Buried on the Hill above Los Angelos.

July 5th. Moved down to the port at San Pedro, found that portion of our Brethren well that went down befor us and camped with them on the beach.

Sunday 6th, rested and met for prayer in the evening.

Monday 7th. Embarked on board the Steam ship, Ohio, set sail for San Francisco at 4 o clock, P.M. After four days rather rough passage we arrived at San Francisco on friday 11th at 11 A.M. found some good Brethren who rendered us assistance in various ways. Rented a House the same day and all moved into it together.

Saturday 12th Brothers Lyman & Rich arived per Steamer Goliah, We visited & received visits.

Sunday 13 Held meeting in a Chappel opened to us by the public, preached the word in truth & power to an attentive audiance. The three following days nearly confined to my bed with sickness, the remainder of the week spent in visiting writing &c.

Sunday 20th. Preached at 11 & 3 in a large room. A goodly number of persons out to hear and good attention. At intermition Baptized Charles Wesley Wandle—& Cyrus Grey, who had fallen into transgression but now came forward, confessing & forsaking their sins. At evening met with the Brethren at the house of Brother Winner. Confirmed the two foregoing persons and called upon the Saints & others to forsake every thing sinful & renew their covenants & help with their prayers, faith, and Means, in the work of God giving the privilege to all that wished to be rebaptized. A number became candidates, Confessing their sins with a determination to reform.

Monday 21st. repared to the water & re-baptized eight persons whose names were as follows,

George K. Winner	Richard Knowles
Hannah P. Winner	Sarah Knowles
John Phillips	Ruth Morey
Jacob Hayes	Ranalder Mory a new member

The same evening met at the house of Brother Winner & organized a Branch of the Church confirming the above named persons in Membership and in all their former standing. I was Chosen President of this Branch & Philo B Wood, Clerk.

The remainder of the week devoted to writing and instructing inquirers who called.

July 28. Met the brethren and others at Bro. Morey's, preached, and had good attention. Again in the evening at Bro. Winner's. The remainder of the week spent chifly in writing and instructing numerous inquirers.

Sat'y, Aug. 3d. Baptized, in San Francisco Bay, the following persons, Quartus S. Sparks, Mary H. Sparks, Miron Warner, Sarah Warner, Emma Jane Winner.

Sunday Aug. 4th. Preached twice to an attentive audience, in the Adelphi Theatre. In the evening held meeting at Bro. Winner's. Confirmed those baptized the day previous, and blessed several Children.

COPY OF A LETTER WRITTEN TO BROTHER ADISON PRATT

Dear Brother Pratt

San Francisco July 26th, 51

My long contemplated Mission to the Pacific has at length become a reality. I am here, having left home in March last. Eight of us are here, and will go to the sandwich Islands and elsewhere as the way opens and the spirit directs. Brother Phillip B Lewis and wife would have sailed for Your Islands with letters &c. But Brothers Clark & Thomkins, having arived we concluded to send no more laborers to that part of the vineyard at present. I hold the presidency of all the Islands and Coasts of the Pacific. Under the direction of my presidency, to open the door to every nation, and Tongue as fast as the way opens and the Lord directs for the preaching of the gospel of Salvation.

As president of that part of the vinyard, You will push the gospel to every people as fast as possible. Send men to the friendly Isles, or to any other group where the way may be open, and as circumstances will permit, as You are lead by the holy ghost, if You need more labourers send to me at this place. I am well known here and am making some noise, also make Your report to me from time to time and ask such Council as You may need.

Elder Phillip B Lewis will sail for Sandwich Islands, accompanied, by his wife, Brother Hammond & wife, and Brother Woodbury & wife. He will have the presidency of those Islands. You corrispond with him. The news from there are favorable and all right, the work is prospering wonderfully in Deseret, England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, France, Italy, switzerland, Denmark, sweeden, Norway, etc. Several Young Men are with me who will go to Chili, & Peru in due time. Bishop Murdock will also go soon, to the English Colonies in New Zealand, Vandemansland, or new Holland if the Lord will.

Aug. 4th Elder Philip B. Lewis was set apart by the laying on of hands to preside over a mission to the Sandwich Islands. Bro's. Francis A. Hammond and Stillman Woodbury were also set apart to the same mission. Three of the Twelve officiated: viz:—P. P. Pratt, A. Lyman and C. C. Rich.

The remainder of the week was spent in writing and instruction.

[To be concluded]

THE LIFE OF FERDINAND C. EWER

May 22, 1826—October 10, 1883

By HENRY RAUP WAGNER

[Concluded]

EARLY IN DECEMBER, William H. J. Brooks broached the subject of starting a monthly magazine to Ewer, who agreed to undertake the editorial part, and in January, 1854, appeared the first number of the now famous *Pioneer*. He wrote the "Eventful Nights" while living at Mrs. Stillman's boarding house, and in October he moved to the "Antique Castle" at Sacramento and Stockton streets, of which there is a sketch in the scrapbook. December 1, he began taking his meals at Mrs. E. M. Parker's boarding house, where he sat next to Miss Sophie M. Congdon, his future wife.¹ The house was on the north side of Jackson Street, the fifth west from Powell. Here also were Betty Smith, the sister of "Shirley" of *The Pioneer*;² a Mr. Stebbins; Mr. Deroches, a teacher; Mr. and Miss Leach of the Anna Bishop Opera Troupe, and several others.

By December 8, Miss Congdon and Ewer had reached the stage of considering marriage. Miss Congdon was conducting a school which had to run that month out, but they concluded to get married the next day and keep it secret until January 1. So on December 9, Bishop Kip married them at Grace Church. Frank Soulé stood up with Ewer and Mrs. Parker with the bride. Sophie's school closed by the end of the month and Ewer obtained a week's vacation from the Collector. His income was about \$550 per month, and he now rented half of a pew in Trinity Church, the other half of which belonged to William H. Sharp. Frank Soulé was married a few weeks later than Ewer, and they went to the *Evening Journal* office January 1, 1855, and inserted notices of their weddings. In the afternoon, Ewer and his bride departed on the Sacramento steamer for their honeymoon, most of which they spent at Marysville.

In March *The Pioneer* was running behind and Ewer expected to have to share several months' arrearages, but the proprietors succeeded in obtaining a reduction of twenty per cent. in the printing bill, and as a result expected now to play even. Ewer speaks of spiritualistic seances and says he and Kemble were the mediums. Times were hard and Sophie had to take on a few private pupils.

Mrs. Parker gave up the boarding house to Mrs. Helen M. Carsewell in March, and in July the latter lady moved to a new location, on the west side of Stockton, second house south from Clay Street.

Ewer from time to time interviewed Bishop Kip to get advice so that in two years he might be admitted to Deacon's Orders. In August he presented to the Standing Committee of the diocese his application to be admitted as a candidate for Holy Orders, but in September the Committee gave him the cold shoulder and told him to consider the matter again. He now purchased Horne's *Introduction to the study of the Holy Scriptures*.

About this time some eastern publishing house wrote him: "Permit us to suggest that the genius evidently exhibited in the 'Eventful Nights' might be turned to good account in the preparation of, say, 'The Gold Seeker—A Tale of California Life, etc. etc.' " He also about this time received a communication from Mr. Peabody, the editor of the *North American Review*, requesting him to write an expanded review of the *Annals of San Francisco*, but, as he says, he intended to neither the one nor the other. In September, 1855, he lectured before the San Francisco Young Men's Christian Association on "The Geographical distribution of plants and their distribution in altitude," and he also tells us that he now began to get very tired of editing *The Pioneer*.

October 12 at half past four in the morning a boy appeared upon the scene, brought into the world by Dr. Coit, weight seven and a quarter pounds. He was named William Brooks Ewer after Ewer's particular friend, William H. J. Brooks.

Shortly after this, Ewer was elected a member of the Board of Education from the Sixth Ward. Up to this time he tells us there had been two systems of schools between which the public money was divided pro rata, namely, in San Francisco, the ward schools, which were Roman Catholic, and the district schools, which were Protestant. This was now abolished by the legislature, which decided there should be no sectarianism in the schools. The citizens at large were to elect a superintendent of public schools and members of the Board of Education were to be chosen from each ward at the general election. "Know Nothingism" was strong at this time, and the Protestant Board which had just been legislated out of existence had discharged from its schools every foreign teacher.³ Ewer's history of this small storm in the school system is very entertaining but too long to quote. He formed one of the board of examiners to select professors and passed only one, Mr. Ellis Holmes, who, he says, was elected to the position of Principal and Professor of Mathematics. The Latin and Greek position found no worthy candidate. Ewer entered the lists for what might be called a position teaching Physical and Intellectual Philosophy, but finally retired in favor of Mr. Minns, who he said needed the place worse than he did. The committee consisted of Mr. John B. Felton, the Hon. Ogden Hoffman and Dr. Sawyer. The Board, it seems, consisted of eight members equally divided politically; and the Mayor, James Van Ness, who was the ex-officio member, was a Democrat and swung the balance of power. About Christmas Ewer was again considering leaving the Custom House and

opening a young ladies' school, but he thought better of it and held on to his job. With the December number, *The Pioneer* discontinued its appearances. Ewer says he was tired of it, and besides he had to give his time to his theological studies.

In the spring of 1856 Ewer built a small cottage, of which he has left us a very pretty drawing, on his lot on the southwest corner of Hyde and Sacramento streets, and here his two little girls were born. Before adopting this plan he was boarding, and he says the cost of living was about \$325 a month. Mrs. Carsewell sold out her boarding house to Mr. Butler, whereupon the owner of the house raised the rent and Butler gave up the enterprise. Ewer and his wife moved temporarily to a little wooden house on the north side of Vallejo Street, five doors east of Mason, and while he was here the second Vigilance Committee was formed, but he did not become a member of it. Collector Latham now removed Ewer from his position in the Custom House in order to give it to a brother of Mr. Wilson, a State senator, but on being remonstrated with by the deputy collector and one or two clerks, he reinstated Ewer in about a week. At this time the family income was about \$395 a month, of which \$95 was earned by his wife in teaching her little class.

Along in October he met Bishop Kip on the street, and the bishop asked him if he really wished to be a clergyman. Being convinced of Ewer's sincerity, the bishop said he would have to see about it, and shortly drew up some papers and called a meeting of the Standing Committee to pass on Ewer's papers. October 9 the Standing Committee admitted Ewer as a candidate for Deacon's Orders, the papers to date back to September 12, 1855. On November 16 he passed his first examination. The holidays were enjoyed in the new cottage, and late in January, 1857, Ewer passed the last half of his first examination for Orders, and now began to prepare for the second examination which was to be on the evidences of Christianity and on systematic divinity. He was now definitely determined to return to the East as soon as he could be admitted to the priesthood. He felt that California was too far away from the rest of the world to suit him.

March 7, a little girl came into the family, whom he named Mary, for his friend, Mary R. Harris.

On March 13 the Standing Committee of the Diocese of California passed his papers admitting him to the Holy Order of Diaconry; he had passed his second examination two weeks before; and on March 25 his third examination took place before the bishop in the latter's study, the bishop being assisted by Messrs. S. C. Thrall and J. A. Shepherd. April 5 Ewer was ordained Deacon in Grace Church by Bishop Kip, and that night Ewer announced the song at Trinity Church, and read evening prayers for the remainder of the week. Easter Sunday he preached his first sermon at Grace Church, the subject being "Prayer."

Having secured what he considered trustworthy assurances of holding his

place for four years more in the Custom House, Ewer went to the bishop and proposed with his permission to go down into the south part of the town, on Howard Street, he says near Third, and open a Free Church. He proposed to pay the rent, take care of it himself and depend eventually for his support on the Sunday offerings. To this the bishop responded "No." He said he had need for him elsewhere, and proposed to send him to Petaluma, where his stipend would be \$1,000 a year. The bishop, however, planned to go East, and consequently on April 14 the vestry of the cathedral elected Ewer as assistant minister of the parish. Two days afterwards the bishop appeared at the Custom House, informed him of his appointment and instructed him to resign his position in the Custom House. This he did, to take effect April 27.—Farewell to politics!

The time had now arrived when Ewer and his wife had promised themselves a trip to the East, but naturally such a thing was out of the question, so they concluded to postpone it for another year, hoping the bishop would be back by that time. Ewer's sole income now was his salary of \$250 a month as assistant minister of Grace Church, an income on which Ewer tells us he was unable to make both ends meet, as his expenses were regularly \$300 a month. Bishop Kip left April 20, and Ewer in effect took full charge of Grace Parish. That Ewer was a forceful and engaging preacher there can be no doubt. His numerous letters at this period with many clippings from newspapers evince the public estimation in which he was held. December 16, Bishop Kip returned to San Francisco and at the same time Ewer received a call from St. John's Church in Marysville. The bishop requested him to decline it as he said it was his own design to resign the rectorship of Grace Church and that Ewer would be called to that position. December 21, the bishop did offer his resignation, which was accepted, and Ewer was elected to the rectorship at a salary of \$300 a month. December 29, he passed his final examinations for priesthood orders and was ordained January 17, 1858.

Ewer was out of debt in California except for a \$600 mortgage on his land and cottage, and on April 30 he paid off \$300 of this, and proposed to pay off the rest in another month, leaving his bills for the month to be worked off gradually, as he had been paying two per cent. a month interest on the mortgage for two years. As he says, "I have done nothing in California for the last nine years but pay up debts. It is a perpetual saving and speculating to enable me to pay up." He then added that after he got through with his own debts he had to pay up \$700 of his wife's debts, incurred in the East before they were married. June 2, he finally lifted the mortgage, but he still had a few debts. At the Diocesan Convention he was elected to a place on the Standing Committee.

August 11, Mrs. Ewer gave birth to another daughter, to be named Anne Charlotte Lynch. They proposed now to move into town as "the cottage was too far for the parishioners to call on us." Nevertheless, he records that every Sunday morning Benjamin and Willy Brooks came out and took breakfast

with them. In November he and his family moved into town into a brick house, two stories high, on the south side of California Street next east of the lot on the corner of California and Stockton where the new Grace Church was being built. The house usually rented for \$80 a month but it belonged to a parishioneer of his who wanted him to be near the church and so agreed to accept \$65. Meantime he rented his cottage for \$20 a month, and he now records that property is rising in value.

He had intended to leave for home on April 5, 1859, but by the first of the year he had extended this to April 20. Receiving a call to St. John's Church in Stockton, he respectfully declined it.

In January he notes that he is sitting for a crayon likeness, a present from Dr. Wierzbicki to Sophie. The artist was a Mr. Fenderich. I am fortunate in having discovered in the possession of Mr. Robert E. Cowan what appears to be the identical portrait of Ewer drawn by Fenderich in 1859, and which is here reproduced with Mr. Cowan's kind permission.⁴

A request for a leave of absence in May brought on a little storm in the vestry which was only calmed by Mr. Ewer's withdrawing his request. In June with his wife he made a little trip to Yosemite, the southern mines and the Calaveras big trees. On the 19th he held what he said was the first Episcopal service ever held in the Valley, Mr. Holbrook, a minister of the Congregational Church, having held there the first religious service the Sunday previous. On the 26th he preached at the Calaveras Grove, the service being held on one of the stumps. All this time Ewer was suffering from asthma and the trip, he says, proved of no benefit to him. It seems likely that his affliction was the real basis for his continued desire to remove to New York.

Plans for the new Grace Church were adopted in January, 1860, and Ewer and his wife then made a trip to Petaluma where he delivered his lecture on "The Destiny of Man." On the 25th he visited "Lachryma Montis," General Vallejo's country seat. He now determined to put aside every other consideration and leave for the East. He felt the need of rest and considered that he needed also the educating influences of travel. On April 1, 1860, the vestry met and granted him a leave of absence for a year, but Ewer had made up his mind to resign the rectorship as he felt there was great doubt about his return. "I feel too that I ought for myself to strive for a wider field. A California reputation does not give a passport for elsewhere and I should be in the East. The parishioners are determined that I shall come back." In April the Ewers were busy packing and disposing of furniture and generally making ready to leave. He obtained \$2200 for his house and lot. As one of his last experiences in California he took the Fellowcraft Degree No. 1 of the Free and Accepted Masons, and April 15 he preached his farewell sermon in Grace Church. April 16 he addressed his letter of resignation to the vestry of the church. The vestry refused to receive it but allowed it "to remain subject to the action thereon which in the judgment of the vestry may thereafter be deemed advisable."

The vestry offered him his entire salary during his absence and finally half his salary. Both of these offers he declined as he considered an acceptance would place him under obligations to return.

On Friday morning April 20, Ewer and his family left San Francisco, never to return.

The later volumes of Mr. Ewer's reminiscences are not available to me; they are still in the possession of one of his descendants. His subsequent career however can be epitomized from the Introduction to Volume 2 of *California in 1852*, a re-publication of the Shirley letters by the Grabhorn Press in 1933. Mr. Carl I. Wheat, who edited that book, states that after his return to the East Ewer became assistant to Dr. Gallaudet at St. Anne's Church for deaf-mutes in New York. In 1862 he became rector of Christ Church and here he won the reputation as one of the greatest pulpit orators of the day. He embraced High Church views and this resulted in such opposition in Christ Church that he resigned his rectorship in 1871. His followers, however, organized St. Ignatius Church where he functioned as pastor until his sudden death from cerebral hemorrhage while preaching in the church of St. John the Evangelist at Montreal, October 10, 1883.

NOTES

1. This is the first mention of his future wife and one might almost say his last. Nowhere does he say anything about her previous career except to mention her debts in the East. Ewer has, however, pasted in a number of clippings of her previous career. The wedding certificate, which is also pasted in, was signed by W. Ingraham Kip and gives the lady's name as Sophie Mandell Congden. In one of the clippings she is spoken of as the daughter of a rich New Bedford merchant. Ewer was devoted to his wife and in an extract from a letter to his mother dated April 28, 1855, he writes as follows: "Dear Mother: In all that I do—all that I strive for—I am incited by those two words—Mother, Wife. I want the mother to feel that she can always utter the name of her son with gladness and the wife to feel that she can take the arm of her husband with pride."

2. Mrs. Fayette Clappe, née Louise Amelia Knapp Smith.

3. For an account of this secret political organization with its doctrine of nativism, see "The Rise and Fall of the 'Know Nothings' in California," by Peyton Hurt, in *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, IX, 16-49, 99-128.

4. Included as a frontispiece in the December, 1934, *Quarterly*.

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF EDWARD CLEVELAND KEMBLE

EDWARD CLEVELAND KEMBLE, the author of "Blowing up the Wind" on the page opposite, was born in Troy, New York, November 11, 1828, where John Cleveland Kemble, his father, a former State senator, was editor of the *Troy Budget*. His mother, Mary Ann Whipple, was a granddaughter of General William Whipple, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a general in Washington's army.

February 4, 1846, Kemble, himself a non-Mormon, embarked at New York in the ship *Brooklyn* which carried Samuel Brannan's Mormon colony to Yerba Buena, where they arrived July 31, 1846. When the future first printer in San Francisco landed he was but seventeen years and eight months old. He proceeded at once to install the Washington Hoe press and the printing equipment brought as cargo in the Mormon ship, in Nathan Spear's grist mill located on what is now the north side of Clay Street between Montgomery and Kearny streets, and there, October 24, 1846, was printed "An Extra in Advance of the California Star," the name decided upon before the *Brooklyn* left New York. The first regular issue of San Francisco's first newspaper, however, did not appear until January 9, 1847.

Kemble was known throughout California as the boy editor. His poem, doubtless the first verse to be printed in San Francisco, was written by him six months after his eighteenth birthday. It distinctly shows the influence of Poe's "Raven."

In the *Sacramento Daily Union* of December 25, 1858, Kemble gave a full history of California newspapers up to that time. This article, edited by Douglas C. McMurtrie, was published in book form by the Plandome Press in 1927, and in it Kemble gives full details on his own newspaper connections. First as a war correspondent, then as major and lieutenant-colonel in the paymaster's department of the army, he served through the Civil War. Later he was an inspector of Indian affairs. Kemble died in Mott Haven, New York, February 10, 1886, at the age of fifty-seven years.

It is only of late that due recognition of his prominence in California's cultural history is being accorded.

BLOWING UP THE WIND

From California Star, April 24, 1847.

Ever blowing, colder growing, sweeping madly through the town,
Never ceasing, ever teasing, never pleasing, never down.
Day or night, dark or light,
Sands a-flying, clapboards sighing—
Groaning, moaning, whistling shrill,
Shrieking wild and never still.

In September, in November, or December, ever so;
E'en in August will the raw gust, flying fine dust, roughly blow.
Doors are slamming, gates a-banging,
Shingles shivering, casements quivering—
Roaring, pouring, madly yelling,
Tales of storm and shipwreck telling.

In our bay, too, vessels lay-to, find no shelter from the blast;
White caps clashing, bright spray splashing, light foam flashing—
 dashing past.
Yards are creaking, blocks a-squeaking,
Rudder rattling, ropes all chattering,
Lugging, tugging at the anchor,
Groaning spars and restless spanker.

Now the sun gleams, bright the day seems,
 Hark . . . he comes—is heard his roar.
Haste to dwelling, dread impelling, heap the fire, close the door.
Onward coming, humming, drumming,
Groaning, moaning, sighing, crying,
Shrieking, squeaking—Reader, 'tis so—
Thus bloweth the wind at—San Francisco.

WESTERN HISTORY

*A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West**

BEKEART, PHILIP BALDWIN.

[Cover title:] The first flake of gold discovered by James Wilson Marshall, January 24, 1848, Sutter's saw mill, Coloma, El Dorado County, California. The Mountain Democrat—Placerville, El Dorado County, California. Reprinted April 27, 1934. 11 pp.

BOGART, ERNEST L.

The water problem of southern California. Published by the University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, for Claremont Colleges Library, Claremont, California, 1934. Claremont Library series number two, April, 1934. 132 pp. (incl. index), diagrams and folding map.

COHN, ALFRED, and CHISHOLM, JOE.

"Take the witness." New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1934. xii + 315 pp., port. [The story of attorney Earl Rogers, with a foreword by Adela Rogers St. John.]

CROSS, IRA B.

A History of the labor movement in California. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935. xi + 354 pp. (incl. index).

DANA, JULIAN.

Sutter of California, a biography. New York: The Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1934. xi + 423 pp. (incl. index), ills.

DE WOLF, LUCIA SHEPARDSON [ed.].

A happy issue. The hitherto unpublished letter of a child, Virginia Elizabeth B. Reed, survivor of the Donner-Reed party. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, privately printed in an edition of 100 copies, 1935. viii + 13 [+1] pp., ills. [These two letters, which Mr. George R. Stewart has also recently published in *Westways*, were originally printed in the Springfield, *Illinois Journal*, Dec. 16, 1847. This is one of the earliest and most touching accounts of the Donner party. The newspaper version differs in a few particulars from the present printing. This, of course, is not the same story as the later one by Virginia Reed in the *Century Magazine*.]

FIELD, MARIA ANTONIO.

California speaking (a handbook of California history). [San Francisco: Recorder Printing and Publishing Co., 1934.] 19 pp. ["A 'nutshell' of facts, so to speak; especially dealing with the Spanish period." Some errors.]

FRANK, HERMAN W.

Scrapbook of a Western pioneer. Los Angeles: Times-Mirror Press. [xv] + 256 [+8] pp., ills. [Autobiography of H. W. Frank, of Harris and Frank, clothing store, Los Angeles.]

GREEN, FLORIDE.

Some personal recollections of Lillie Hitchcock Coit-5. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1935. vii + 48 pp., ills.

* Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.

—CHARLES L. CAMP.

HARRINGTON, JOHN P.

A new original version of Boscana's historical account of the San Juan Capistrano Indians of Southern California. *Smithsonian Inst., Misc. Collections*, No. 4, publ. 3255.

HENDRY, G. W., and HANSEN, H. N.

The antiquity of *Puccinia graminis* and *Ustilago tritici* in California. *Phytopathology*, 24, pp. 1313-14. [Proof, from the contents of adobe bricks, that these fungi parasitic on wheat were in existence at Soledad Mission as early as 1832.]

HOWAY, JUDGE F. W.

A list of trading vessels in maritime fur trade, 1785-1794. Ottawa: Printed for the Royal Society of Canada, 1930. From the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, third series, Volume XXIV, Section II, 1930, pp. 111-34.

—Same, 1795-1804. From the Transactions. . . Vol. XXV, Sec. II, 1931, pp. 117-49.

—Same, 1805-1814. From the Transactions. . . Vol. XXVI, Sec. II, 1932, pp. 43-86.

—Same, 1815-1819. From the Transactions. . . Vol XXVII, 1933, pp 119-47.

JANE, CECIL [trans.].

A Spanish voyage to Vancouver and the North-West Coast of America, being the narrative of the voyage made in the year 1792 by the schooners *Sutil* and *Mexicana* to explore the Strait of Fuca. London: The Argonaut Press. xiv + 142 pp., ill., 4to. [The first English translation of this important narrative.]

KEMBLE, EDWARD CLEVELAND.

Yerba Buena—1846 (Sketched through a loophole) by Edward Cleveland Kemble, San Francisco's first printer. Reproduced from the *Sacramento Daily Union* of August 26—September 16 and October 14, 1871. With a biographical foreword by Douglas S. Watson. San Francisco: Johnck & Seeger, 1935. iv. + 19 pp., colored ill.

LATTA, F. F.

Uncle Jeff's story. A tale of a San Joaquin Valley pioneer and his life with the Yokuts Indians. Tulare: Tulare Times Press, 1929. 88 pp.

ROSS, ELEANORE FARRAND.

Beloved City [San Francisco]. Illustrated by Julian Links. San Francisco: Knight-Counihan, 1934. [v] + [52] pp., ill.

SAUNDERS, CHARLES FRANCIS, and O'SULLIVAN, ST. JOHN.

Capistrano nights, tales of a California Mission town. New York: Robert McBride and Co., 1930. xi. + 203 pp., ill.

STELLMAN, LOUIS J.

Mother Lode, the story of California's gold rush. San Francisco: Harr Wagner, 1934. xv + 304 pp., ill.

STEWART, JULIAN H.

Two Paiute autobiographies. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Vol. 33, No. 5, 1934, pp. 423-38.

STRONG, W. D.

Aboriginal society in Southern California. *Univ. of Calif. Publ. Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol.*, 26, 1929. x + 358 pp., 7 maps.

TAYLOR, DAVID WOOSTER.

The life of James Rolph, Jr. San Francisco: Committee for Publication of the life of James Rolph, Jr., 1934. [ix] + 126 + [vii] pp. Designs by William H. Wilke and other ill.

WARNER, J. B.

Fifty-six years in West Coast shipping. In *South of Market Journal*, September, 1934, pp. 14-16.

WELLS, HARRY LAURENZ.

California names; over two thousand five hundred place names, individual names, words and phrases in common use in the Golden State, spelled, pronounced, . . . Los Angeles: Kellaway-Ide-Jones Co., 1934. 94 pp., 1 ill.

WHICHER, JOHN.

Extinct Masonic lodges of California. [San Francisco:] published by order of the Grand Master, 1933. 67 pp. [Locations of lodges in many of the more obscure towns in the Mother Lode are mentioned, together with histories of the lodges.]

WHITE, STEWART EDWARD.

Folded Hills. New York: Doubleday, Doran, Inc. 1934. 479 pp. 8vo. [Fiction, recently published in the *Saturday Evening Post*. The story "Foofaraw," based on Frémont's part in the conquest of California, is told with more insight than appears in some historical articles on the subject.]

WYLLYS, RUFUS KAY.

Pioneer Padre, The life and times of Eusebio Francisco Kino. Dallas, Texas, The Southwest Press, 1935. xi + 230 pp. (incl. bibliography and index), ill.

COLORADO MAGAZINE.

January, 1935, contains: "Sidelights on the Pike's Peak gold rush, 1858-59," by James F. Willard; "Early education in Colorado," by A. J. Fynn and L. R. Hafen; "Cowboy life on the open range of northeastern Colorado," by Frank Tanberg; "The founding of Cripple Creek," by Edgar C. McMechen.

GRIZZLY BEAR.

December, 1934, contains: "Diary of a pioneer of 1849," John A. Markle; "California fifty years ago," by Thomas R. Jones. January, 1935, contains: "The California French," reprinted from *The French in Sonora*, by Rufus Kay Wyllys; "Epic of a pioneer woman and three native daughters," by Mrs. Minnie Aerick-Behm; "Proclamation to San Diego insurgents," by Thomas Maitland Marshall. February, 1935, contains: "Economic depression of 1854-1858," by Peter Thomas Conmy; "Place names along the emigrant trail," by Henry W. Turk. March, 1935, contains: "Place names along the emigrant trail" (cont.); "California fifty years ago," compiled by Thomas R. Jones; "General Winn," by C. M. H.

HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Forty-second annual report for the year 1933 [Honolulu, May, 1934] contains: "How the Territory of Hawaii grew and what domain it covers," by P. C. Morris; "Honolulu and some new speculative phases of Hawaiian history," by J. F. G. Stokes; "The ship *Eliya* at Hawaii in 1799," by Judge F. W. Howay.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, ANNUAL PUBLICATION.

Vol. 15, Part 4, 1933, contains: "San Gabriel Mission in 1857" (a letter from an Hungarian visitor) with introduction by Harry Harris; "The Names of the Channel Islands," by Henry R. Wagner; "Were the Colorado River Missions in California?" by Seward C. Simons; "Three early California letters," (from Mariano Carrillo, Fray Crespi, and Sergeant Ortega) with introductions and notes by Thomas Workman Temple II; "The reminiscences of Melville Dozier," and other articles.

OREGON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

September, 1934, contains: "Vancouver on the Northwest Coast," by Lalla R. Boone; "Military beginnings of Salmon River Highway," by Leslie M. Scott; "Journal of John H. Frost, 1840-43," III, edited by Nellie B. Pipes; "Lee-Greene correspondence,

1839," by J. Orin Oliphant; "William Hume, 1830-1902," by Mary de Sales McLellan. December, 1934, contains: "Snake River fur trade, 1816-24," by W. T. Atkin; "Forest fires in Oregon and Washington," by William G. Morris; "Villard and University of Oregon," by Philip Henry Overmeyer; "Journal of John H. Frost, 1840-43," Part IV, ed. by Nellie B. Pipes.

PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW.

September, 1934, contains: "The revolution and the railroads of Mexico," by Osgood Hardy; "The background of the Riel rebellion," by Jonas A. Jonasson; "The struggle for control of the China trade during the eighteenth century," by E. H. Pritchard; "Politics and public opinion in the Western Statehood movement of the 1880's," by Robert Edwin Albright; "The Arizona Enabling Act and President Taft's veto," by H. A. Hubbard, and other articles. December, 1934, contains: "Early Hawaiian commercial development," by Ralph S. Kuykendall; Stage-coach service in Northern California, 1849-52," by Oscar Osburn Winther.

PONY EXPRESS COURIER.

November, 1934, contains: "Michigan to California" (cont.), by Ira H. Butterfield; "Pony Express riders I have met, No. 3—Don C. Rising," by George J. Remsburg; "Diamond Springs school directory of '59 names one hundred pupils"; "The bad man from Bitter Creek," by Edwin Brooks. December, 1934, contains: "Michigan to California" (cont.); "My overland trip to California in 1852," by Col. L. A. Norton (cont. from Oct.); "Pony Express riders I have met, No. 4—'Charley' Cliff," by George J. Remsburg. January, 1935, contains: "The Sutter-Marshall mill, and what became of it," by Margaret A. Kelley; "Father of the fort," by Julian Dana; "Placerville, past and present," by Frances Fairchild; "Marshall—the gold discoverer," by Philip B. Bekeart; "The gold discovery and its influence in California," by James D. Stewart; "The millionaire pauper," by H. C. Peterson; "The golden magnet," by Jessie Davies Francis; "California gold production," by James D. Stewart; "Pony Express riders I have met, No. 5—'Buffalo Bill' Cody," by George J. Remsburg; "Marshall as I knew him," by Margaret A. Kelley. February, 1935, contains: "Melvin Bangler, a Pony Express rider who turned outlaw and was hanged"; "My overland trip to California in 1852," by Col. L. A. Norton (cont. from December); "Ben Holladay's old home sold," by George J. Remsburg; "Paragraphs from the past," by Julian Dana; "The millionaire pauper" (cont.); "Pony Express riders I have met, No. 6—Henry Avis," by George J. Remsburg; "The little town of Tailholt," by George J. Remsburg.

WASHINGTON HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.

October, 1934, contains: "Pioneer private bankers in Washington," by N. R. Knight; "Records of Baptist home missionary activity in Oregon Territory to 1860," by J. Orin Oliphant; "Mormon colonization scheme for Vancouver Island," by J. B. Munro; "The Reverend Father Blanchet, 1818-1906," by L. M. Dimmitt; Documents—"The Indian Chief Kitsap," and other articles.

WESTWAYS.

September, 1934, contains: "The Last Mass of Father Junipero Serra—a painting by Mariannus Guerrero," with a note by Henry R. Wagner; "Jonathan Temple comes to Los Angeles," by Perry Worden; "Kingdom of Virgins," by Hersh Belenger, and other articles. October, 1934, contains: "Familiar adobes of pastoral California," by Philip Johnston. November, 1934: "A whaler at Yerba Buena," by W. B. Osborn; "Silver & Calico," by Philip Johnston; "Palm Springs before the dudes came," by Ernest Braunton, and other articles. December, 1934, contains: "A child's tale of the Donner tragedy," by Virginia Reed, with a foreword by George R. Stewart, Jr. [See also, Lucia De Wolf's "Happy Issue," in this list.]

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

THE SOCIETY held a luncheon meeting on Tuesday, December 18, 1934, at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel. Professor Payson J. Treat, of Stanford University, was the speaker, and his subject, "The First Californian to Represent the United States at the Court of the Tenno: John F. Swift, 1889-1891." After telling something of Swift's early life and summarizing his political career in California, Professor Treat gave a brief account of the diplomatic relations of the two countries prior to his appointment. Swift took with him some western notions that were at variance with the traditional views of the State Department. In his short tenure he succeeded in altering the views of the Department and in changing the course of our policy very considerably. There were about forty-five members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

The Society at its Annual Meeting, held in the Gothic Room, Hotel Sir Francis Drake, on Friday, January 25, 1935, was honored by the presence of Judge F. W. Howay, LL.D., F.R.S.C., of New Westminster, B. C., and a member of the Society, who delivered a most interesting address, taking as his subject, "An Outline Sketch of the Maritime Fur Trade." Judge Howay, who is the recognized authority on the maritime fur trade of the Pacific Coast and the author of several monographs on the subject published by the Royal Society of Canada, successfully compressed in a most interesting fashion this vast subject into the limits of a thirty-five minute talk. The pursuit of the sea-otter reached its height in the four decades following 1785. At its inception this trade was in the hands of the British, but toward its close passed into Yankee hands, laying the foundation for many Massachusetts fortunes. The only permanent effect upon the Coast was a looting of its material resources. No settlements were undertaken, but knowledge of the geography of the West Coast was crystallized. Judge Howay told of some amusing trade incidents in which iron collars, Chinese cash, and brass thimbles served as articles of exchange for otter pelts worth thousands of dollars. The large attendance of members and guests greeted the conclusion of Judge Howay's talk with enthusiastic applause.

DOUGLAS S. WATSON.

On Tuesday, February 19, 1935, the Society held a luncheon at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, commemorative of the Panama Pacific Exposition, which opened its gates twenty years before on the 20th of February, 1915. The Honorable Angelo J. Rossi, Mayor of San Francisco, who was a participant in the ceremonies attending the opening, was to have spoken, but was prevented by serious illness in his family. Mr. A. J. Cleary, Chief City Admin-

istrative Officer, spoke on "The Panama Pacific Exposition in Twenty Year Retrospect." He devoted about half of his time to the prospective exposition of 1938, giving an outline of the question of site and policy involved. At the close of his address, Mr. Robert E. Cowan was called upon by the chairman. The Society was glad of an opportunity to hear from him again. There were about thirty members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

NEW MEMBERS

<i>Name</i>	<i>Address</i>	<i>Proposed by</i>
Beard, Miss Cora A.	Modesto	Mr. Douglas S. Watson
Brizard, Henry F.	Arcata	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Coleman, Robert L., Jr.	San Francisco	Mr. E. A. Wiltsee
Cumming, Joseph M.	San Francisco	Mr. E. F. O'Day
Dobie, Charles Caldwell	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Jones, J. Roy, M.D.	Sacramento	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Martin, Miss Edna R.	Berkeley	George D. Lyman, M.D.
Miner, Dan B.	Los Angeles	Reinstated
Murphy, Miss Evelyn	Sunnyvale	Mrs. E. C. Whittier
Niemand, Frederick G., M.D.	San Francisco	Mr. E. A. Wiltsee
Rosencrantz, Esther, M.D.	San Francisco	Mr. Edgar M. Kahn
Sinsheimer, Paul A.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy Huggins
Steele, Mrs. Edith Shorb	San Francisco	Mr. E. A. Wiltsee
Taber, Miss Louise E.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy Huggins
University of San Francisco	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Zook, Judge Edgar T.	San Francisco	Mr. Douglas S. Watson

ANNUAL MEETING

THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING of the Society was held during the luncheon of Friday, January 25, 1935. In the absence of Mr. Anson S. Blake, the Secretary, Mr. Douglas S. Watson acted as Secretary pro tem. and read the minutes of the last meeting, which were approved. The following Directors were elected for the year 1935: Albert M. Bender, Anson S. Blake, Allen L. Chickering, Robert E. Cowan, Templeton Crocker, George Ezra Dane, Sidney M. Ehrman, Alfred I. Esberg, Mrs. John O. Gantner, A. T. Leonard, Jr., George D. Lyman, C. O. G. Miller, D. Q. Troy, Douglas S. Watson, and Ernest A. Wiltsee.

The temporary Secretary read the report of the Secretary and Treasurer for the year 1934, as follows:

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER

For the Year Ending December 31, 1934

MEMBERSHIP

The year has resulted in a net gain of one member. We had at the beginning of the year 1934, 407 members. We elected to membership during the year, 45. There resigned during the year, 29 (including one patron member); died during the year, 9 (including one patron member), and dropped for non-payment of dues, 6; leaving 408 members as of December 31, 1934. One patron member also transferred to active membership during the year.

MEETINGS

Six Directors' meetings were held during the year, and the Society held eleven luncheon meetings, the first of which included the annual business meeting. The luncheon meetings were as follows:

- Jan. 26—"Some Forgotten Characters of Old San Francisco." Mr. Robert Ernest Cowan.
- Feb. 27—"The History of San Quentin Prison." Leo L. Stanley, M.D.
- Mar. 20—"Recollections Inspired by a San Francisco Directory of 1884." Mr. Daniel Q. Troy.
- Apr. 17—"Edward D. Baker—Soldier—Lawyer—Senator." Mr. Walter McGovern.
- May 15—"Dear Yesterdays in San Buena Ventura." Mrs. Myrtle Shepherd Francis.
- June 19—"Shell Mounds and Caves Around San Francisco Bay." Dr. Mark L. Emerson.
- Aug. 26—Held at Monterey. After the luncheon the members attended the pageant at Carmel Mission, in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the death of Junipero Serra.
- Sept. 18—An informal talk on Bret Harte. Mrs. Henry Whipple Root.
- Oct. 23—"Agustin Vicente Zamorano, Statesman and Craftsman." Mr. George L. Harding.
- Nov. 20—"A Summer with Our Neighbor Authors." Miss Eudora Garoutte.
- Dec. 18—"The First Californian to Represent the United States at the Court of the Tenno: John F. Swift, 1889-1891." Prof. Payson J. Treat, of Stanford University.

EXHIBIT

The Society supervised and furnished most of the material for an exhibit held under the auspices of the City and County of San Francisco, in Larkin Hall, from September 17 to 24, commemorating the anniversary of the founding of the Presidio of San Francisco, which was largely attended.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION COURSE

The Society also sponsored a series of ten lectures on California history held under the auspices of the University of California Extension Division. Professor Herbert I. Priestley conducted the course, which was given in the rooms of the Society on Thursday evenings, beginning September 13.

GIFTS AND LOANS

We are indebted for gifts and loans of books, pamphlets, pictures, maps, and other historical items, received during the year 1934, to the following:

Mrs. Leslie L. Armstrong, Automobile Club of Southern California, Mr. George A. Beanston, Miss Anna W. Beaver, Mr. Philip B. Bekeart, Mr. Albert M. Bender, Miss Augusta A. Bloomer, Mrs. Angus Gordon Boggs, Mr. Fred J. Bowlen, Mrs. Stella Brown, Mrs. George L. Cadwalader, California State Prison at San Quentin, Dr. John W. Caughey, Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Christopher Publishing House, Mrs. Edmond D. Coblentz, Mrs. F. H. Colburn, Mrs. Mary Colmar, Miss Rachael Davis, Mr. Ernest Dawson, Mrs. Ella B. Dexter, Mrs. Emma C. de la Montanya, Mr. W. B. de la Montanya, Denver Public Library, Miss Adele Falkenstein, Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, Fields Book Shop, Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald, Fort Hays Kansas State College, Rev. Gerald J. Geary, Mr. John Hamlin, Hammond & Bates, Mr. George L. Harding, Mr. Hans A. Hoffmann (editor of *Westward*), Mr. E. D. Holden, Mr. Frank W. Hooper, Judge F. W. Howay, Miss Sarah A. Keenan, Miss Florence R. Keene, Miss Rosalind Keep, Mr. Lawton Kennedy, Miss Enid King, Mr. William C. Latham, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., George D. Lyman, M.D., Mr. M. Hall McAllister, Mrs. R. A. McDonald, Mr. W. E. McDonald, Mrs. Alice B. Maloney, Miss Juanita Miller, Mrs. W. E. O'Moran, Norwegian-American Historical Association, Miss Agnes Park, Mr. Charles R. Phillips, Mrs. Horace D. Pillsbury, Mr. Stuart L. Rawlings, San Francisco Garden Club, Mr. Frank Schwabacher, Society of California Pioneers, Southern Pacific Company, South of Market Boys, Inc., Rev. A. D. Spearman, Leo D. Stanley, M.D., Mr. F. A. Thomas, Mr. Winfield M. Thompson, Mr. D. Q. Troy, University of California Press, Mr. Frederick von Schrader, Mr. Henry R. Wagner, Mr. Robert Walsh, Mr. Douglas S. Watson, Mr. Carl I. Wheat, Mrs. Francis Williams, Mr. William F. Wilson, Mr. E. A. Wiltsee, Miss Lottie G. Woods, Miss Maud Woods, Mrs. Louisiana Yturriaga.

In addition to the foregoing gifts and loans, Mr. Templeton Crocker and Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman each contributed \$250 toward making up the deficit of the preceding year; Mr. Allen L. Chickering contributed \$100 toward the general expenses for the year 1934, and Mr. Chickering, Mr. Anson S. Blake, and Mr. Ernest A. Wiltsee contributed a total of \$38.25 toward the expenses of the Exhibit at Larkin Hall.

FINANCIAL

Following the suggestion made at the last Annual Meeting, the books of the Society have been audited by Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, whose complete report is on file, covering the years 1928 to 1934 inclusive. Copied here is his summary of the year 1934.

GENERAL FUND RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE

YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1934

RECEIPTS

Dues

Active Members	\$3,594.23	
Patron Members	1,450.00	\$5,044.23

Contributions

General purposes	\$ 600.00	
Rent of room	900.00	
Exhibitions	38.25	1,538.25

Sales

Quarterly	\$ 713.00	
Other publications	93.05	806.05

\$7,388.53

EXPENDITURE

Operating Expenses

Salaries	\$1,987.50	
Rent	2,250.00	
Telephone and telegrams	69.75	
Postage and express	84.31	
Office supplies and expenses	107.58	
Printing and multigraphing	50.63	
Miscellaneous	32.47	\$4,582.24

Exhibitions and Luncheons

Exhibitions—general expenses	\$ 150.93	
Exhibition sub-committee expense	16.37	
Luncheons	223.11	390.41

Publication Costs

Quarterly	\$2,375.53	
Other publications	32.50	2,408.03

Other Expenditure

Equipment and furniture	\$ 46.13	46.13
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Total Expenditure		<u>\$7,426.81</u>
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EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE OVER RECEIPTS		\$ 38.28
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BALANCE DECEMBER 31, 1933		\$ 83.33
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BALANCE DECEMBER 31, 1934		<u>\$ 45.05</u>
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PUBLICATION FUND RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE

YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1934

RECEIPTS	
Sales	\$ 417.54
Other Receipts	
Interest on bank balance	24.07
Total Receipts	\$ 441.61
EXPENDITURE	
Publication costs	\$ 20.23
Other Expenditure	
Repayment of loan (H. R. Wagner)	70.00
Total Expenditure	90.23
EXCESS OF RECEIPTS OVER EXPENDITURE	\$ 351.38
BALANCE DECEMBER 31, 1933	\$ 660.91
BALANCE DECEMBER 31, 1934	\$ 1,012.29

It is to be noted that the expenditures during 1934 listed in the above report included bills amounting to \$779.31 which had been held over from the preceding year. (Toward the payment of these, \$500 in contributions were received during the year.) Therefore the expenditures actually for the year were less than the receipts during that year.

Respectfully submitted,

ANSON S. BLAKE, *Secretary*.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

December 1, 1934, to February 28, 1935

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MISS ANNA W. BEAVER—*Addresses delivered at the memorial service for Bernard Moses, April thirteenth, Nineteen hundred and thirty*; Sheppard, Eli T., *Fred-erick Ferdinand Low, ninth Governor of California*.

From MR. P. B. BEKEART—Bekeart, Philip B., *The first flake of gold discovered by James Wilson Marshall, January 24, 1848*, Placerville: *The Mountain Democrat*, reprinted April 27, 1934.

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Austin, Mary, *When I am dead*, Santa Fe, N. M., 1935; Badé, William F., *A manual of excavation in the Near East*, Berkeley, U. C. Press, 1934; Bierce, Ambrose, *Letters*, ed. by Bertha Clark Pope, memoir by George Sterling, S. F., Book Club, 1922; Bottome, Phyllis, *Stella Benson*, S. F., 1934; Bremer, Milton A., *So what? or A day on 'change, so what?*; California Writers Club *Poems*, 1933; Cutler, Leland W., *Once upon a time*, S. F., Nash, 1934; Dana, Julian, *Sutter of California*, N. Y., 1934 (autog.); Davenport, William H., *The true ballad of the galloping bearse*, Berkeley, 1935; Deutch, Munroe E., *Debts and obligations*, Univ. of Hawaii, 1934

(autog.); Drummond, Henry, *The greatest thing in the world*, Menlo Park: Allied Arts Guild, 1934; Gayley, Charles Mills, *Idols of education*, N. Y., 1910; Green, Floride, *Some personal recollections of Lillie Hitchcock Coit*, S. F., Grabhorn, 1935; Greenhood, David, *Poems, et cetera*, S. F., 1934 (autog.); Jordan-Smith, Paul, *For the love of books*, N. Y., 1934; Kanno, Takeshi, *The passing of Joaquin and Fragments of creation-dawn*, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Kemble, Edward Cleveland, *Yerba Buena—1846*, S. F., Johnck & Seeger, 1935; Motte, Benj., *Philosophical transactions from the year MDCC . . . to the year MDCCCXX . . .*, Vol. II, London, 1721; Reedy, William Marion, *'Frisco the fallen, published April 18, 1916, ten years after*; Sears, Mabel Urmey, *Lyric land of California*, illustrated by the verse of Clarence Urmey; Smith, Clark Ashton, *The white sybil* with Keller, David H., *Men of Avalon*; Taylor, David Wooster, *Life of James Rolph, Jr.*, S. F., 1934; Tressider, Mary Curry, *Trees of Yosemite*, Stanford University, 1932; Whitman, Walt, *O Captain! My Captain!*, S. F., Windsor Press for Albert M. Bender, 1935; Idem, *Song of the redwood tree*, Mills College, 1934; and others.

From MR. FRED J. BOWLEN—*Their hills afire, the story of the Mill Valley conflagration, July 2nd, 1929*, compiled from data collected by Chief of Battalion Fred J. Bowlen, of the San Francisco, California, Fire Department (typewritten MS, bound).

From CLAREMONT COLLEGES LIBRARY—Bogart, Ernest L., *Water problem of Southern California*, Univ. of Ill. Press, Urbana, Ill., for Claremont Colleges Library, 1934.

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING—Harding, George L., *Don Agustin V. Zamorano, statesman, soldier, craftsman, and California's first printer*, Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1934.

From MRS. THEODORE HAWLEY—Kimball, Charles P., *San Francisco city directory, September 1, 1850* (reprint).

From JUDGE F. W. HOWAY—Howay, F. W., *List of trading vessels in maritime fur trade, 1785-1794*, Ottawa; Royal Society of Canada, 1930; same for 1795-1804, Ottawa, 1931; same for 1805-1814, Ottawa, 1932; same for 1815-1819, Ottawa, 1933 (four pamphlets).

From MRS. ALICE B. MALONEY—Barry J. Neilson, *The French Canadian pioneers of the Willamette Valley*, Portland, Ore., copy. 1933.

From MR. STUART L. RAWLINGS—*Grove plays of the Bohemian Club*, edited with an introduction by Porter Garnett, San Francisco: Bohemian Club, 1918 (3 vols.).

From THE SOUTHWEST PRESS—Wyllis, Rufus Kay, *Pioneer Padre, the life and times of Eusebio Francisco Kino*, Dallas, Texas, The Southwest Press, 1935.

From MR. JOHN F. G. STOKES—*Japanese cultural influences in Hawaii*, University of Toronto Press, 1934, reprinted from the Proceedings of the Fifth Pacific Science Congress, Victoria and Vancouver, B. C., 1933.

From UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS—Publications of the U. C. Press: Anderson, Charles A., *Geology of the Engels and Superior mines, Plumas County, Calif.*, 1931; Caughey, John W., *Bernardo de Galvez in Louisiana*, 1934; Coy, Owen C., *Pictorial history of California*, U. C. Extension Division, c. 1925; Grinnell, *Review of the recent mammal fauna of California*, 1933; Idem, *Type localities of birds described from California*, 1932; Miller, William J., *Geologic section across the southern Sierra Nevada of California*, 1931; Olson, Ronald L., *Clan and moiety in native America*, 1933; Parish, John C., *Emergence of the idea of manifest destiny*, 1932; Sauer, Carl, and Brand, Donald, *Aztatlán*, 1932; Simpson, Lesley B., *Studies in the administration of the Indians in New Spain*, 1934; Steward, Julian H., *Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute*, 1933; Swift, Fletcher H., *Emma Marwedel, 1818-1893*, 1931; Taylor, Paul S., *A Spanish-Mexican*

peasant community, *Arandas in Jalisco, Mexico*, 1933; Williams, Howel, *Geology of the Lassen Volcanic National Park*, 1932.

From MR. H. R. WAGNER—[Bechervaise, John], *Thirty-six years of a seafaring life*, Portsea: MDCCCXXXIX; Comfort, Herbert G., *Where rolls the Kern*, Moorpark, Calif., 1934.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Killinger, Emily Tibbey, *The Islands of San Francisco Bay*, prepared by The National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of California, San Francisco, December 1, 1934.

BROADSIDES AND FOLDERS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—*The California mining towns, a series of twelve rare early views*, text by Oscar Lewis, San Francisco: Book Club of Calif., 1933-34 (in a slip case); *In the good old Golden West*, by Stanton Elliot, S. F., c. 1915; *The cool, grey city of love*, by George Sterling, S. F., Nash, 1932; *Article on international expositions*, by Louis C. Mullgardt, S. F., 1915; *Abraham Lincoln, The Gettysburg address and a portrait*, S. F., Grabhorn, 1922; *The Song of songs, which is Solomon's*, S. F., Nash, 1931; *El toison de oro: the golden fleece*, by Edward F. O'Day, S. F., Nash, 1926; *The Max John Kuhl Memorial Collection of fine books*, S. F., Nash; *Letters of Western authors*—No. 1, George Sterling, with comment by Robinson Jeffers, Book Club of Calif., 1935; *Resolution of respect* [on the death of Henry Meade Bland] by Senator Herbert C. Jones, 1931; announcements of Book Club and Roxburghe Club meetings, and other items.

PICTURES

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Photographs: Panama Pacific International Exposition, Art Gallery of Mills College, Yosemite Valley, Paradise Valley, Cliff Creek Canyon, Building at 310 Sacramento St., San Francisco, 1877; colored prints: large chromo-lithograph of painting of Yosemite Valley by Albert Bierstadt; early view of San Francisco; San Francisco Chinatown by Rowena Meeks Abdy; etchings: Charles Erskine Scott Wood, Towers of the old Temple Emanu-El.

From MISS MARIAN R. HART—Photographs: 6 views by Watkins of Del Monte, Midway Point, Cypress point, Pacific Grove from Sentinel Rock; Taber's "Bouquet of Artists"; Mrs. Elizabeth Saunders, Mrs. M. A. Wills, Wilhelmj, Ysaye, and others; old building at Santa Barbara.

From MR. FRANK SCHWABACHER—Lumiere autochrome of Panama Pacific International Exposition, 1915.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Letter from Gelett Burgess; Stockton city bond, 1853 (framed); The Pioneers Ten Commandments (key to pictures, framed); Mercantile business journals of Samuel C. Gray (2 vols., MS), Benicia, 1851-54, 1857-76; Deeds and abstracts of title to Lot No. 1046 (Eddy St. nr. Taylor), San Francisco, also tax receipts for that lot and other lots belonging to the McCollam family, down to 1898.

From MR. GEORGE EZRA DANE—Various newspapers and programs.

From MISS MARIAN HART—Teacher's report of public school in Bay District, County of Alameda, 1878, Mrs. Sylvia A. Hart, teacher; four poems by Ina Coolbrith (3 printed, 1 MS); 8 letters and correspondence cards from Ina Coolbrith; letter from Otis Skinner, letter from T. H. Rearden; pamphlet: *Ancestral worship of the Chinese*, by Mary Turrill Van Denburgh; various tickets, calling cards, etc.

From MR. F. A. THOMAS—Old scale found at Downieville, probably used in the 1850's or early 1860's to weigh meat.

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE is supposed to make a report of its activities during the year, but of all the committees of the Society it alone parades its efforts continually before the eyes of the members. Silence on the part of the majority, as usual, must be taken as a lack of fault-finding with its work. For few of the members have been lavish with praise, although it must be admitted that some have taken occasion to remark that "The last issues were pretty good." We are continually on the lookout for good material. Writers of historical articles are apparently bashful about appearing in print, and it is only by constant prodding that we seem to be able to create that flow of contributions so necessary for success. When all is said and done, a publication is only as good as its contents. Such matters as printing, illustration, and the like, we have it in our power to improve. But the members of the committee are modest enough to admit that they have no desire to furnish all of the articles. They feel that they are doing their part when they lick the other fellow's material into shape after having induced him to send it in.

We still lack a supply of short articles, ranging up to five thousand words. It is often difficult to plan issues of the *Quarterly* with only contributions of major length at hand. Many may have noticed that the December number contained an additional thirty-two pages. This unusual size was necessary in order to bring three serials to a close and thus start the new year afresh. The amount of money allotted to the Publication Committee only permits the printing of a ninety-six page book, so that in the future the members of the Society need not expect a *Quarterly* running above this size.

The chairman wishes to acknowledge the help and assistance of the members of the committee, and of them three deserve special mention: Mr. Dane for his labors with the Moerenhout material, which he has prepared for publication in a masterly manner; Mrs. Pratt for the careful attention she has given to every task assigned to her, and Mr. Kennedy for his fine printing and for his gift of color plate illustrations, a work of love on his part, for the coloring of the plates is not included in his contract.

No report of the Publication Committee would be complete without an admission on its part that the hard work of getting all of the material into form for publication falls to Miss Huggins, who is constantly on the lookout for slips and errors, and whose care contributes much to the success of the *Quarterly*.

To Mrs. Francis Williams the Society owes its thanks for the careful and laborious assistance which she has gladly contributed in helping Miss Huggins make up the indices for the *Quarterly*.

Following the plan announced a year ago, we have undertaken the publication of the local histories of the old and outstanding towns in California. The first of these, *Annals of Los Angeles*, written by Mr. J. Gregg Layne, appeared in the September and December numbers, and has now been reprinted in book form. The second town history, which begins in the present issue, is the story of California's oldest pueblo, San Jose, which Mr. Oscar O. Winther has contributed. These two local histories will be followed by others until a history of the State from the standpoint of urban settlements has been completed. During the past year the Moerenhout correspondence having to do with the gold rush has appeared. This outstanding contribution to the historical record of 1848 and 1849 has now been reprinted in book form. Both the *Annals of Los Angeles* and the Moerenhout letters under the title of *The Inside Story of the Gold Rush* have been issued in limited editions of two hundred each. It has been thought best not to overprint special publications, but to endeavor to fill the demand only and to be able to report as soon as possible that the issue is sold out.

DOUGLAS S. WATSON, *Chairman*.

In Memoriam

WITH the passing of Mrs. Kate Felton Elkins at Monte Carlo on December 1, 1934, another link with early California days was broken. She was the daughter of Charles N. Felton, one of the most indomitable spirits among the pioneers of '49, who later went to Congress as U. S. Senator from California. Her young girlhood was passed in California at the family home at Menlo Park, whose doors were always hospitably ajar to the stream of interesting personalities who were attracted to California in those days. While her father was in Congress she joined him and became the gracious hostess of his official home in Washington. Her marriage to William L. Elkins, Jr., of Philadelphia, took her away from California for a number of years, but, always a Californian at heart, she eventually returned to San Francisco where she spent the latter years of her life.

Her sense of family and civic loyalty, and her love for California—two of her outstanding characteristics—found definite expression in a constructive way. The Charles N. Felton, Jr., Memorial Fund, established in the Stanford Convalescent Home in memory of her brother, was her first public expression of affectionate loyalty to her family. In 1927 was dedicated the Felton Grove of primeval redwoods which she gave to the Save the Redwoods League in memory of her father, Senator Charles N. Felton. Later, she established a Library of American Literature at Stanford University, and housed it very fittingly and beautifully in a room appropriated for the purpose in the Library Building of the University. This library is a memorial to her mother, Charlotte Ashley Felton. A fourth memorial was the establishment of an annual scholarship at Stanford University for the best essay on American Literature. This is in memory of a beloved uncle, George Loomis, who, with his wife, lived at the family home in Menlo Park, and during her father's frequent absences from home, acted as a second father to her.

With all Mrs. Elkins' public spiritedness, she was of a shy and retiring disposition, and we shall never know the full extent of her generosity and kindness to others. Of the scores of people helped over hard places, of the young people who owe their education to her, of the sick made better through her kindness, there is no record. We only know that her place will be difficult to fill. We congratulate her children who survive her—Mrs. Paul Iacacci of New York and Mr. Felton B. Elkins of Santa Barbara—on the memory and example of so outstanding a personality.

PERSONALIA AND MARGINALIA

THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE has long felt the need of some means of commenting upon what appears from time to time in the *Quarterly* and of bringing to the notice of members of the Society information regarding contributors to it. Henceforth a page will be reserved for this sole purpose, where bits of editorial gossip may be noted and where at times attention may be called to forthcoming articles of importance.

A contribution in the present issue commands particular attention: John A. Sutter's European Background, by Dr. J. P. Zollinger. Most biographers of Johann August Sutter either skip the years of his life between 1803 and 1834 or fill their pages with apochryphal material. The recent publication by the Press of the Pioneers, of New York, of Julian Dana's *Sutter of California*, makes the Zollinger article on Sutter's Swiss years most timely. Up to the present Sutter's position in Switzerland has brought forth only fictitious fancies, most notable of which is his pseudo-military past. The Zollinger contribution, backed by documentary authority, dispells the fog of fiction which has surrounded this period of Sutter's life these many years.

J. P. Zollinger, now a resident of Brooklyn, New York, was born in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1896; he graduated from the University of Zurich with the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and for some years taught in both Swiss and English schools. Since coming to New York in 1924 he has devoted much time to journalistic work, and is the author of a critical article entitled, "J. A. Suter in der Literatur," which appeared in the *Neue Schweizer Rundschau* in October, 1934.

In the present issue begins the history of the Pueblo of San Jose by Oscar O. Winther, who was born in Weeping Water, Nebraska, in 1903. He was graduated from the University of Oregon with a B. A. degree in 1925, received his M. A. degree from Harvard in 1928, attended Stanford University from 1929 to 1931, from which institution he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1934, and at present is an acting instructor in History there.

All who know Mr. Henry Raup Wagner will be pleased to learn that Pomona College conferred upon him, in February, the degree of Doctor of Letters in recognition of his many important contributions to the history of the West.

Mr. Edwin Grabhorn has kindly permitted the reproduction of the famous Powell sketch of Los Angeles, the earliest known to exist. It was first used as the frontispiece to *The Santa Fe Trail to California*, printed by Mr. Grabhorn in 1932, and now serves a like purpose, reduced in size, for Mr. Layne's *Annals of Los Angeles*.

Mr. Carl I. Wheat, former Chairman of the Publication Committee, now a resident of Los Angeles, has been chosen Editor of the Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California. His scholarly guidance will be as great a gain to our sister society as his leaving San Francisco was a loss to us.